

English Literature for Secondary Schools

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MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON
WARREN HASTINGS



Macaulay's Essay
on
Warren Hastings

With Introduction, Notes, etc., by

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If the Essay be found too long for a term's work, it is suggested that the following passages be omitted :

- PAGE 1. 1— 3. 9. This book ... portrayed.
32. 4— 35. 21. The evidence ... Bengal.
44. 28— 46. 33. But we look ... India.
67. 27— 70. 7. Our own ... chose.
83. 13— 91. 24. On a general view .. parlour.
94. 1— 96. 6. This gentleman .. number.
104. 33—107. 32. The House ... power.
118. 5—120. 3. In truth ... grave.
121. 18—123. 9. We have said ... fancy.
125. 32—127. 11. The last ... Sowards.

INTRODUCTION.

1. When Macaulay wrote his two Essays on Clive and Warren Hastings he could not foresee that, besides winning a permanent place in English Literature, they would also be to the average Englishman the source of nearly all his knowledge of Indian history in the eighteenth century. The "Hastings" is probably the masterpiece among his Essays. No more eloquent passage than that describing the great trial, no more moving narrative than that of Nuncomar's death ever came from his pen. Transparent clearness of style, a copious and varied vocabulary, splendid passages of rhetoric warmed by an impassioned love of right and scorn of wrong, a vivid and dramatic imagination unimpeded by the learning which supplies a wealth of illustration to a story full of animation, contrast and incident; all these combine to enthrall and convince.

2. And yet the Essay, in some parts at least, stands as an object lesson in the power of party to stifle truth. Always unfair to Impey, Macaulay in the main does ample justice to the greatness of Hastings' abilities and of his services to the empire, rendered under circumstances of unique difficulty. But against the moral fame of Hastings was arrayed the tradition of the great impeachment, enshrined in the language of the foremost orator of the great age of British eloquence. The

historian Mill takes the same side. Macaulay was nothing if not a good Whig, and the Whig tradition does not suffer by his presentment. Yet it is to be remembered that he was not writing formal history, and cannot be blamed too severely for following the recognised authorities. Even his omnivorous reading had probably not given him access to the original documents, from which a juster estimate of Hastings' actions has more recently been derived.

3. Hastings' Indian service of thirty years falls into two periods, separated by a five years' absence in England.

In the first period, 1749-64, Clive is the prominent figure, the overthrow of the French power and the foundation of British territorial dominion the chief interest. During the troubles which began with the Black Hole and ended with Plassey, Hastings won distinction and promotion as resident at the court of Mir Jafar Khan, the new Nawab of Bengal. He showed in the highest degree courage, judgment and diplomatic tact. To these qualities must be added absolute integrity. During the governorship of Vansittart, 1760-3, which fills "the most revolting page in our Indian history," as during the whole of his career, his hands were clean. No charge of personal corruption was then or afterwards brought home to him.

4. With the victory of Plassey, 1757, began a series of puppet Nawabs in Bengal, while the Company's servants were transformed from traders into soldiers, diplomatists, and magistrates. Always ill-paid and often unscrupulous they found before them an opportunity of becoming rich by abusing their official position so as to extend their

illicit gains by private trade and by the receipt of "presents." No positive law, no wholesome tradition or public opinion was there to restrain them, and many yielded to the temptation. The Nawab Mir Kásim rebelled, but the victory of Bákсар, 1764, settled his fate. In 1765 Clive returned to India commissioned to reform these evils, and to take in some measure the practical work of governing Bengal into the Company's hands. He stayed too short a time—until 1767—to do more than make a beginning.

5. In the second period, 1769-85, Hastings has the field to himself. From Madras, where he showed his powers of organisation, he was called as governor to Calcutta in 1772. His work was to finish what Clive had begun, and evolve order out of chaos. Clive first gave the Company a regular title to jurisdiction by accepting (1765-7) the Diwání, or duty of collecting the revenue, of Bengal, Orissa and Behár, not as sovereign but as agent of the Nawab. For this dual system there were, he thought, sound reasons. It concealed the change from the Native powers: it prevented interference by Parliament. But while by nature sovereignty is indivisible, Clive's system divided it. The Mogul Emperor had a titular claim to supremacy which the Nawab ignored. In theory the Company were his servants; they were really his masters, and were themselves in an uncertain relation to Parliament. The three Presidencies were independent of each other. It took a year to receive from the Directors at home an answer to a despatch penned in India. The result was conflict and uncertainty in every department of government.

6. Hastings was directed to act on the breakdown of the system. As governor, 1772-4, he began to lay the foundations of organised civil life. The assessment and collection of revenue, the creation of a judicature, police, the abuses connected with private trade, were all successfully grappled with. His work, afterwards completed by his successors—notably by Lord Cornwallis—was steadily continued in the face of enormous difficulties.

7. For apart from difficulties due to the want of a properly trained Civil Service, the financial position was most serious. The Company was in debt and pressed for remittances. India is a poor country, and had recently suffered terribly from famine: yet Hastings had to find the money. An even graver political danger lay in the growing power of the Mahratta States. This people, amid the scramble for power consequent on the break-up of the Mogul Empire, would probably have become masters of India, if no European State had intervened. Occupying a central position, they threatened all the Presidencies at once. Lastly, there was the danger that France might revive her dreams of conquest. How did Hastings meet this three-fold peril?

8. The Mogul Emperor, Shah Alum, was now a puppet in the hands of the Mahrattas, yet he was living on the bounty of the Company at Allahabad, given him by Clive. This district, together with his pension, he was now preparing to put at the service of his new masters. Hastings most justifiably stopped the pension. His policy, and that of Clive before, was to rely on Oudh and similar States as buffers against the Mahrattas.

The sale of Allahabad to the Nawab Wazir at once improved the Company's finances and strengthened Oudh, whose frontier was now riverbound and safe on the south and east.

9. But there was still a weak point in the north-west. The Mahrattas had overrun Rohilcund in 1770 and 1772. The forces of Oudh and the Company drove them out. But the Rohillas withheld their promised subsidy and even intrigued with the Mahrattas. Hastings helped Oudh to conquer and annex Rohilcund and so obtain a firm barrier, which the Mahrattas never again ventured to assail. His conduct has been attacked with unreasonable violence. The most that can be said against him is that, while his action was politically expedient, it is open to doubt whether morally there was yet a full case for interference: that to lend British troops to a native power is repugnant, if not to the political morality of the eighteenth century, at all events to ours; and finally that he possibly might not have acted but for the financial profit. Judged by results, the policy was successful.

10. Lord North's Act of 1773 marks a new departure. It was the first of several Acts culminating in 1858 by which Parliament interfered for the good government of India. As Governor-General Hastings received some control over Bombay and Madras. Parliament controlled him by the new Council and the Supreme Court. But the Act was vaguely drawn. It left in obscurity the main questions—what law was to be administered, over whom jurisdiction was to be exercised; where did ultimate sovereignty lie, with the Governor-General, the Council, the Supreme Court, the Directors, or with

Parliament? Another dual system was set up. The new officials, sent out with orders to work in harmony, drew apart in two hostile camps, reunited only when Hastings regained supremacy through the death of Monson and Clavering. They came out determined to overthrow Hastings, and till 1776 Francis was practically supreme. The Court and the Council also drifted into war. These quarrels hindered, but did not ultimately stop, Hastings' system. He met them with marvellous patience and self-control.

11. The attempt to ruin him through Nuncomar failed signally. The charges against him and Impey in this connection can no longer stand after the criticism of Sir James Stephen. The worst that can be said is that it is still an open question whether Hastings may not have intimated privately to Nuncomar's prosecutor that now was the time to strike. Small blame can attach, if he did. Proof there is none either way.

12. The charges regarding Cheyte Sing and the Begums of Oudh also bear now a very different complexion from that given them by Macaulay. Feudatories may fairly be asked for money in time of stress and punished for intriguing with our foes. Yet Hastings cannot be acquitted of all blame. His action showed too much of a disposition to carry things with a high hand, not unnatural in one so long cut off from western influences, and living amid the methods of Asiatic rule.

13. No doubt he justified himself by the financial stress of the great war with the Mahrattas and Mysore, rendered more acute by the renewal of French intrigue and the revolt of the American colonies. In those black days the British Empire seemed falling to pieces.

Elsewhere was defeat and despair. In the East alone Hastings not only kept the flag flying, but laid the solid foundations of our future policy. His final treaties with the Mahratta States mark an epoch. He was the first to see that the British power could not stand alone. It must form such alliances with the Native States as should make it the dominant factor in the politics of all India. His system of subsidiary alliances paved the way along which Lord Wellesley and others moved to dominion.

14. After the departure of Francis his last days of office were spent in peace. But he had now a bitter and unresting foe at home who found men ready to listen. English politics were rising out of the slough of corruption and place-hunting to a higher and purer ideal. A healthier public opinion had grown up. America had been an object lesson in the results of misgovernment. Might not what remained of the Empire be saved from it? Not to speak of Lord North's effort to turn out Hastings in 1776-7, or of the Directors' condemnation of the Rohilla War, Indian affairs were attracting more and more attention, especially in the years 1781-6, when the report of Dundas' Committee furnished material for debate, and even led to a vote adverse to Hastings. Fox and Burke, his burning zeal soon to glow white hot amid the tumult of the French Revolution, made the subject their own. But ministries were too short-lived for much to be done. North went out in 1782. Rockingham followed with Burke and Fox. Shelburne succeeded in July, but in April 1783 fell before the Coalition Ministry of Fox and North. Their East India Bill failed, and Pitt became

Prime Minister in 1784, and his India Bill established the Board controlling the Directors at home, and laid down the principle of responsibility to Parliament.

15. Hastings' Impeachment might never have come had it not been for his failure to understand his position, and the unwise challenge of his agent, Major Scott. This brought Burke to the point. Hastings, secure of the royal favour, thought himself equally sure of Pitt. To everyone's surprise Pitt gave way. The great trial dragged its slow length along. At first it absorbed universal attention. But the excitement died away amid the law's delays, and a natural revulsion of feeling in favour of him who had done England such service, heightened not a little by the intemperate language of Hastings' assailants. Acquittal came, but the punishment was severe. The hope of distinction was gone: Hastings was a ruined man. But his broken fortunes were repaired by the generosity of the East India Company. For his disappointment he found solace in "his own noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune and never disturbed by either," in the support of friendship, in a happy home life, in the firm affection of the peoples of India and of the servants of the Company, to which his successors in office bore striking testimony.

16. It may well seem now that the impeachment should never have been and that Hastings was a much wronged man. Some misgovernment there may have been. But it was due to the system, not to the man. Our first government of dependencies had failed in America with men of our own blood. With an alien race in a lower stage of civilisation the task was even

harder, and it had to be performed through men never trained for the position they were suddenly called upon to assume. All was experiment and groping in the dark. Not in attacks on individuals lay the remedy, but in the reform of organisation, the permeation of the Civil Service by higher ideals, the patient study of conditions and their slow and wise amelioration. Yet so far as it awakened the national conscience to those duties the impeachment served its turn.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

HASTINGS.	INDIAN AFFAIRS.	EVENTS IN EUROPE.	MINISTRIES.
1732. Birth.		1727. George II. accession. 1741-8. War of the Austrian succession. 1745. Jacobite Rebellion. 1748. Peace of Aix-la- Chapelle.	1721. Walpole. 1742. Carteret. 1744. Pelham.
1749. At Calcutta.	1745. French take Madras. 1749-54. French and Engl : at war. 1751. Arcot. 1754. War ends. Duplex recalled. 1756. The Black Hole. (Suraj-ud-daula.) 1757. Plassey. 1758-60. Clive Gov : of Bengal. 1758-61. French Power de- stroyed. 1760. Wandewash. Van- sittart Governor. 1765-7. Clive's second term of office. Divani of Bengal.	1756-63. The 7 years' war. 1759. Canada taken. 1760. George III. accession. 1763. Peace of Paris. 1765. Stamp Act. 1767. " repealed. Townsend taxes America. 1773. Boston Tea Party.	1754. Newcastle. 1756. Devonshire and Pitt. 1757. Newcastle and Pitt. 1762. Bute. 1763. G. Grenville. 1765. Rockingham. Grafton and Pitt. 1773. North.
1753. At Cossimbazar.			
1757. Resident at Moor- shedabad.			
1761. On Calcutta Council.			
1764-9. Absent in England.			
1769. On Council at Mad- ras.			
1772-4. Governor of Ben- gal. Abolishes Dual System of Govern- ment.	1774. Death of Clive.		
1773. Lord North's Regu- lating Act. Rohilla War.			

ANALYSIS OF THE ESSAY.

Page 1. Notice of Gleig's book. 3. Hastings' family. 4. Birth. 5. School-days. 7. Sent to India. Attracts Clive's notice. Resident at Moorshedabad. 9. On the Calcutta Council. British misrule. 11. Goes home. 12. Returns to India. Meets the Imhoffs. 14. His work at Madras. Appointed Governor of Bengal. State of the country. 17. The Dual system; Revenue. Nuncomar. The Native character. 20. India a poor country. 21. Mahommed Reza Khan and Schitab Roy. Dual system reformed. 22. Treatment of the Nawab. 23. Financial difficulties. Tribute to the Mogul stopped. Sale of Allahabad to Oudh. 25. The Rohillas. 27. British troops lent to Oudh to conquer them. 29. Horrors of the war. 30. Hastings indifferent. 31. The Regulating Act. 32. Hastings Governor-General. 32. Identification of Francis with Junius. 35. Two factions in the Council. 36. Francis undoes Hastings' work. 37. Nuncomar accuses Hastings of corruption, with Francis' support. 40. Nuncomar arrested. Condemned to death. 41. Conduct of Impey condemned. 43. Execution of Nuncomar. 44. Hastings' degree of guilt. 47. Attempts to supersede him in England. Maclean presents his resignation. Wheler appointed. Death of Monson. 49. Hastings' resignation declared invalid by the Supreme Court. 50. He marries. Clavering dies. 51. Hastings retains office. The British Empire in peril. 52. The Mahratta danger. French Intrigues. War with Mahrattas. 54. Coote in command. Truce in the Council. 56. Quarrel between Court and Council. Violence resisted by Hastings. Impey bribed to silence. 61. Duel with Francis, who returns home. 62. Hyder Ali invades the Carnatic. Hastings' vigorous measures. 66. Want of money. Cheyte Sing. 67. His position as a vassal. 70.

Hastings' extravagant demands. 71. Arrests Cheyte Sing at Benares. 72. Besieged at Benares. Cheyte Sing deposed. 75. Visits the Nawab of Oudh. 76. The Begums. 78. Money wrung from them by severe measures. 80. Scandalous conduct of Impey. 82. Attacks on Hastings in Parliament. He retains office. 83. Peace signed. Review of Hastings' administration. 90. His fortune. 91. Mrs. Hastings goes to England. He follows next year. 92. Reception in England. 93. His agent, Major Scott. 94. His supporters. 96. Attitude of the Opposition. 97. Of Francis and Burke. 101. Scott's unwise challenge. 102. Impeachment demanded. Debate on the Rohilla War. 104. On the case of Cheyte Sing. Pitt votes for Impeachment: his reasons. 107. Debate on the Begums. 109. Impeachment ordered: the Managers. 110. The opening scene. 114. Speeches of Burke. 115. Fox. Sheridan. 117. Languid course of the trial. 118. Defects of trial by Impeachment. 119. Attempts to stop the trial. 120. The Acquittal. 121. Generally approved. 123. Hastings' ruined fortunes repaired by the Company. 125. Life at Daylesford. 127. Hastings cheered in Parliament. 128. Honours paid him. 129. Death.

[illegible]

Emery Walker sc

WARREN HASTINGS.

THIS book seems to have been manufactured in pursuance of a contract, by which the representatives of Warren Hastings, on the one part, bound themselves to furnish papers, and Mr. Gleig, on the other part, bound himself to furnish praise. It is but just to say that the covenants on both sides have been most faithfully kept; and the result is before us in the form of three big bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric.

If it were worth while to examine this performance in detail, we could easily make a long article by merely pointing out inaccurate statements, inelegant expressions, and immoral doctrines. But it would be idle to waste criticism on a bookmaker; and, whatever credit Mr. Gleig may have justly earned by former works, it is as a bookmaker, and nothing more, that he now comes before us. More eminent men than Mr. Gleig have written nearly as ill as he, when they have stooped to similar drudgery. It would be unjust to estimate Goldsmith by the *History of Greece*, or Scott by the *Life of Napoleon*. Mr. Gleig is neither a Goldsmith nor a Scott; but it would be unjust to deny that he is capable of something better than these *Memoirs*. It would also, we hope and believe, be unjust to charge any Christian minister with the guilt of deliberately maintaining some propositions which we find in this book. It is not too much to say that Mr. Gleig has written several passages, which bear the same

relation to the Prince of Machiavelli that the Prince of Machiavelli bears to the Whole Duty of Man, and which would excite amazement in a den of robbers, or on board of a schooner of pirates. But we are willing to attribute these offences to haste, to thoughtlessness, and to that disease of the understanding which may be called the *Furor Biographicus*, and which is to writers of lives what the *goître* is to an Alpine shepherd, or dirt-eating to a Negro slave.

We are inclined to think that we shall best meet the
10 wishes of our readers, if, instead of dwelling on the faults of this book, we attempt to give, in a way necessarily hasty and imperfect, our own view of the life and character of Mr. Hastings. Our feeling towards him is not exactly that of the House of Commons which impeached him in 1787; neither is it that of the House of Commons which uncovered and stood up to receive him in 1813. He had great qualities, and he rendered great services to the state. But to represent him as a man of stainless virtue is to make him ridiculous; and from regard for his memory, if from no
20 other feeling, his friends would have done well to lend no countenance to such puerile adulation. We believe that, if he were now living, he would have sufficient judgment and sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as he was. He must have known that there were dark spots on his fame. He might also have felt with pride that the splendour of his fame would bear many spots. He would have preferred, we are confident, even the severity of Mr. Mill to the puffing of Mr Gleig. He would have wished posterity to have a likeness of him, though an unfavourable likeness,
30 rather than a daub at once insipid and unnatural, resembling neither him nor any body else. "Paint me as I am," said Oliver Cromwell, while sitting to young Lely. "If you leave out the scars and wrinkles, I will not pay you a shilling." Even in such a trifle, the great Protector showed both his good sense and his magnanimity. He did not wish all that was characteristic in his countenance to be lost, in

the vain attempt to give him the regular features and smooth blooming cheeks of the curl-pated minions of James the First. He was content that his face should go forth marked with all the blemishes which had been put on it by time, by war, by sleepless nights, by anxiety, perhaps by remorse; but with valour, policy, authority, and public care written in all its princely lines. If men truly great knew their own interest, it is thus that they would wish their minds to be portrayed.

Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious 10 race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king, whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprang the renowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to 20 poets and to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon, which, after long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great 30 ruin of the civil war. The Hastings of that time was a zealous cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and, after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthal. The old seat at

Daylesford still remained in the family ; but it could no longer be kept up ; and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value ; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his
10 tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained a place in the Customs. The second son, Pynaston, an idle worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the sixth of December, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he
20 was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry. Nor did any thing in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and
30 which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors, of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day, the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There,

as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, 10 finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly chequered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old, his uncle Howard determined to take charge of him, and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London, and was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was re- 20 moved to Westminster School, then flourishing under the care of Dr. Nichols. Vinny Bourne, as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the masters. Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time, nor a wide dissimilarity of opinions and pursuits, could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they had grown to manhood. But forty years later, when the voices of many great orators were crying for vengeance on the oppressor of India, the shy and secluded 30 poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the Thames, and played in the cloister, and refused to believe that so good-tempered a fellow could have done anything very wrong. His own life had been spent in praying, musing, and rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. He had

preserved in no common measure the innocence of childhood. His spirit had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had never been attacked by combinations of powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such that he was unable to conceive how far from the path of right even
10 kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of conflict and the lust of dominion.

Hastings had another associate at Westminster of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention, Elijah Impey. We know little about their school days. But, we think, we may safely venture to guess that, whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a tart or a ball to act as
fag in the worst part of the prank.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an ex-
20 cellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid
30 himself of it as soon as possible. Dr. Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But Mr. Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters quite sufficient. He

had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune, or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to any body. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster school, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy to study arithmetic and book-keeping. In January, 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal, and arrived at his destination in the October following.

10

He was immediately placed at a desk in the Secretary's office at Calcutta, and laboured there during two years. Fort William was then a purely commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy of Dupleix had transformed the servants of the English Company, against their will, into diplomatists and generals. The war of the succession was raging in the Carnatic; and the tide had been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal the European settlers, at peace with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied 20 with ledgers and bills of lading.

After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogley, about a mile from Moorshedabad, and which then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London bears to Westminster. Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince who, by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. At Moorshedabad were 30 the court, the haram, and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts, and constantly receiving and sending forth fleets of richly laden barges. At this important point, the Company had established a small factory subordinate to that of Fort William

Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenceless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad, but, in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nabob marched on Calcutta; the governor
10 and the commandant fled; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.

In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. The fugitive governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary islet of Fulda, near the mouth of the Hoogley. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information respecting the proceedings of the Nabob; and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large in the immediate neighbourhood of the
20 court. He thus became a diplomatic agent, and soon established a high character for ability and resolution. The treason which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah was already in progress; and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

Soon after his arrival at Fulda, the expedition from Madras, commanded by Clive, appeared in the Hoogley. Warren,
30 young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the Commander of the forces who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks. During the early operations of the war he carried a musket. But the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm.

When, after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was appointed to reside at the court of the new prince as agent for the Company.

He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a member of Council, and was consequently forced to reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration, an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain, not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, was at the 10 head of a new and anomalous empire. On the one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch under oppression. To keep the stronger race from preying on the weaker was an undertaking which tasked to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste, as was natural, broke loose from all restraint; and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, 20 the strength of civilisation without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence 30 and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against dæmons. The only protection which the conquered could find was in the moderation, the clemency, the enlarged policy of the conquerors. That protection, at a later period, they found.

But at first English power came among them unaccompanied by English morality. There was an interval between the time at which they became our subjects, and the time at which we began to reflect that we were bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, 10 to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time, little is known; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little is known, must be considered as honourable to him. He could not protect the natives: all that he could do was to abstain from plundering and oppressing them; and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued poor; and it is equally certain, that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is 20 certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. The keen, severe, and even malevolent scrutiny to which his whole public life was subjected, a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind, is in one respect advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light; but it entitles him 30 to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

The truth is that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr. Vansittart were not temptations addressed to the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious

He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon. Had his heart been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps an unprincipled statesman ; but still he was a statesman, and not a freebooter.

In 1764 Hastings returned to England. He had realized only a very moderate fortune ; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality, and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his 10 relations he appears to have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain the high usury of India. But high usury and bad security generally go together ; and Hastings lost both interest and principal.

He remained four years in England. Of his life at this time very little is known. But it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honour, that in days when the 20 languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers and money-changers, his enlarged and accomplished mind sought in Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of knowledge which lie out of the common track, he was inclined to overrate the value of his favourite studies. He conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part 30 of the liberal education of an English gentleman ; and he drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment was expected from the munificence of the

Company; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafiz and Ferdusi were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on Johnson, with the hope, as it should seem, of interesting in this project a man who enjoyed the highest literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favourable impression of the talents and attainments of his visitor. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of
10 British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse.

Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach him to England; and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited his old masters the Directors for employment. They acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a Member of Council at Madras. It would be unjust not to mention that, though
20 forced to borrow money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated to the relief of his distressed relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the Duke of Grafton and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents which might furnish matter for a novel.

Among the passengers in the Duke of Grafton was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a baron; but he was in distressed circumstances, and was going out to Madras as a portrait-painter, in the hope of picking
30 up some of the pagodas which were then lightly got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The baron was accompanied by his wife, a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel. This young woman who, born under the Arctic circle, was destined to play the part of a queen under the tropic of Cancer, had an agreeable person, a cultivated mind, and manners in the highest degree engag-

ing. She despised her husband heartily, and, as the story which we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was indeed perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation either of close friendships or of deadly enmities as an Indiaman. There are very few people who do not find a voyage which lasts several months insupportably dull. Any thing is welcome which may break that long monotony, a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers 10 find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are quarrelling and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country-seat or boarding-house. None can escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, is taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict innumerable annoyances; 20 it is every day in the power of an amiable person to confer little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth in genuine beauty and deformity heroic virtues and abject vices which, in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff, two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. The gentleman had no domestic ties. The lady was tied to a husband for whom 30 she had no regard, and who had no regard for his own honour. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. The baroness nursed him with womanly tenderness, gave him his medicines with her own hand, and even sat up in his cabin while he slept. Long

before the Duke of Grafton reached Madras, Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description. Like his hatred, like his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong, but not impetuous. It was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. Imhoff was called into council by his wife and his wife's lover. It was arranged that the baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia, that the baron should afford every facility to the proceeding, and that, 10 during the years which might elapse before the sentence should be pronounced, they should continue to live together. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant husband, and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had already borne to Imhoff.

We are not inclined to judge either Hastings or the baroness severely. There was undoubtedly much to extenuate their fault. But we can by no means concur with the Reverend 20 Mr. Gleig, who carries his partiality to so injudicious an extreme as to describe the conduct of Imhoff, conduct the baseness of which is the best excuse for the lovers, as "wise and judicious."

At Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganised state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits: but he knew that the favour of his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and that their dividends depended chiefly on the investment. He therefore, with great judgment, determined 30 to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business, which had been much neglected, since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks, and had become warriors and negotiators.

In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they deter-

mined to place him at the head of the government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St. George for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta "on the same wise and judicious plan,"—we quote the words of Mr. Gleig,—which they had already followed during more than two years.

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the council-board, Bengal was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised, a system which was, perhaps, 10 skilfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrevocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless. 20

But, though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style of sovereignty. They held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

There was still a nabob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augustulus stood to Odoacer, or the last Merovingians to Charles Martel and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabad, 30 surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments. But in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

The English council which represented the Company at

Calcutta was constituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with him in council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send protests to England. But it is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole
10 responsibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution. In the time of Hastings the governor had only one vote in council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote. It therefore happened not unfrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together, from the real direc-
20 tion of public affairs.

The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics about which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue they almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phraseology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word "political" as synonymous with
30 "diplomatic." We could name a gentleman still living who was described by the highest authority as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the internal administration of a whole presidency, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at

Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The personal allowance of the nabobs, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were 10 left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid, was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

The one was Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of 20 Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England he might perhaps have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician. But, tried by the lower standard of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and honour.

His competitor was a Hindoo Brahmin whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man had played an important part in all the 30 revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. To the consideration which in that country belongs to high and pure caste, he added the weight which is derived from wealth, talents, and experience. Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears

in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution
10 and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness, for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song,
20 is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes yields
30 only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting in his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. An European warrior who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair

at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sydney.

In Nuncomar, the national character was strongly and with exaggeration personified. The Company's servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues. On one occasion he brought a false charge against another 10 Hindoo, and tried to substantiate it by producing forged documents. On another occasion it was discovered that while professing the strongest attachment to the English, he was engaged in several conspiracies against them, and in particular that he was the medium of a correspondence between the court of Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For these and similar practices he had been long detained in confinement. But his talents and influence had not only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him a certain degree of consideration even among the British 20 rulers of his country.

Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussulman at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the other hand, he could not bring himself to confer immense power on a man to whom every sort of villany had repeatedly been brought home. Therefore, though the nabob, over whom Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful Hindoo might be intrusted with the government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly and wisely in favour of Mahommed Reza Khan, who had held 30 his high office seven years when Hastings became Governor. An infant son of Meer Jaffier was now nabob; and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to the minister.

Nuncomar, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to undermine his successful

rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the administration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company; for, at that time, the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brocade, heaps of pearls and diamonds, vaults from which pagodas and gold mohurs were measured out by the bushel, filled the imagination even of men of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of

10 what nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a poorer country than countries which in Europe are reckoned poor, than Ireland, for example, or than Portugal. It was confidently believed by lords of the treasury and members for the city that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock, and large relief to the English finances. These absurd expectations were disappointed; and the directors, naturally enough, chose to attribute the disappointment rather to the mismanagement

20 of Mahommed Reza Khan than to their own ignorance of the country intrusted to their care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar; for Nuncomar had agents even in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta, he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors, not to the council generally, but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mahommed Reza Khan, to arrest him, together with all his family and all his partisans, and to institute a strict inquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added that the

30 Governor would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged. But even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture be derived; and, though he could not safely be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

The Governor bore no good will to Nuncomar. Many

years before, they had known each other at Moorshedabad ; and then a quarrel had risen between them which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Mahommed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed, except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own views. He had, wisely as we think, 10 determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose, and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with his council. He took his measures with his usual vigour and dexterity. At midnight, the palace of Mahommed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad was surrounded by a battalion of sepoys. The minister was roused from his slumbers, and informed that he was a prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity, he bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not 20 alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been intrusted with the government of Bahar. His valour and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. On that memorable day on which the people of Patna saw from their walls the whole army of the Mogul scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic. "I never," said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory, "I never saw a native fight 30 so before." Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan, was removed from office, and was placed under arrest. The members of the council received no intimation of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to Calcutta.

The inquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed

on different pretences. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the mean time, the great revolution which Hastings had planned was carried into effect. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system, a very imperfect system, it is true, of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence, was established. The nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government; but he was still to
10 receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guardians for his person and property. His person was intrusted to a lady of his father's haram, known by the name of the Munny Begum. The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services were wanted, yet he could not safely be trusted with power; and Hastings thought it a masterstroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child.

20 The revolution completed, the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigour. Their trial had been put off on various pleas till the new organization was complete. They were then brought before a committee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All the Eastern marks of respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of
30 state, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed elephant, and sent back to his government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart.

The innocence of Mahommed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal

harshly. After a long hearing, in which Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed both the art and the inveterate rancour which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charges had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

Nuncomar had purposed to destroy the Mussulman administration, and to rise on its ruin. Both his malevolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool, had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

In the mean time, Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed state; and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale, "Thou shalt want ere I want." He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from any body who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home, was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded

any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts, in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. "Govern leniently, and send more money ; practise strict justice and moderation towards neighbouring powers, and send more money ;" this is in truth the sum of almost all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home. Now these instructions, 10 being interpreted, mean simply, "Be the father and the oppressor of the people ; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious." The directors dealt with India, as the church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these despatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of 20 which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their lieutenant at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with government tenants daily running away, was called upon to remit home another half million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon ; and he cor- 30 rectly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a

year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had intrusted to their care; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such, that 10 there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago, this house, by the permission of the British government, assumed the royal title; but, in the time of Warren Hastings, such an assumption would have been considered by the Mahommedans of India as a monstrous 20 impiety. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy, he added that of Vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan, just as in the last century the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and 30 could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the Vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave

people was to be decided. It was decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race, which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at
10 a period anterior to the dawn of regular history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanscrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hyphasis and the Hystaspes, and imposed their yoke on the children of the soil. It is certain that, during the last ten centuries, a succession of invaders descended from the west on Hindostan : nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun, till that memorable campaign in which the cross of Saint George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.

The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the
20 other side of the great mountain ridge ; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighbourhood of Cabul and Candahar, were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land, fiefs of the spear, if we may use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things, in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the
30 snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzebe, the warlike colony became virtually independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honourably distinguished by courage in war, and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape

Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valour. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcund.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine to Poland, or that of the Bonaparte 10 family to Spain. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain, destitute of natural defences; but their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline; but their impetuous valour had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by 20 common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible 30 energies of the imperial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day?

This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings

granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand
10 pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

"I really cannot see," says the Reverend Mr. Gleig, "upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatized as infamous." If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this, to deprive a large population, who had
20 never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussar-mongers of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed would be conducted in conformity with the humane rules of civilised warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be
30 so conducted? He well knew what Indian warfare was. He well knew that the power which he covenanted to put into Sujah Dowlah's hands would, in all probability, be atrociously abused; and he required no guarantee, no promise that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing his aid in case of abuse, however gross. Mr. Gleig repeats Major Scott's absurd plea, that

Hastings was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a crusade for the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler who establishes an empire in India is a *caput lupinum*? What would they have said if any other power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras or Calcutta, without the slightest provocation? Such a defence 10 was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime, and the hypocrisy of the apology, are worthy of each other.

One of the three brigades of which the Bengal army consisted was sent under Colonel Champion to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. "The enemy," says Colonel Champion, "gave proof of a good share of military knowledge; and it is impossible 20 to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than they displayed." The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported; but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble made their appearance, and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies, whom they had never dared to look in the face. The soldiers of the Company, trained in an exact discipline, 30 kept unbroken order, while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, "We have had all the fighting, and those rogues are to have all the profit."

Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in

a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine, and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him, to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort William ; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried
10 on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs ; and, though he might disapprove of Sujah Dowlah's wanton barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the reverend biographer. "Mr. Hastings," he says, "could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on." No, to be sure. Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military
20 resistance crushed, his duties ended ; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. Will Mr. Gleig seriously maintain this opinion ? Is any rule more plain than this, that whoever voluntarily gives to another irresistible power over human beings, is bound to take order that such power shall not be barbarously abused ? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story.
30 The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth ; and even at this day,

valour, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel ; and it was very recently remarked, by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word "gentleman" can with perfect propriety be applied are to be found among the Rohillas.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did 10 honour to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government, he had, without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would 20 have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country, and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

In the mean time, Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that the presidency of Bengal should exercise a control over the other possessions of the 30 Company ; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General ; that he should be assisted by four Councillors ; and that a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the Governor-General and Council, and was intrusted with a

civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense, and, at the same time, of undefined extent.

The Governor-General and Councillors were named in the act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new Councillors, Mr. Barwell, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in India. The other three, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, were sent out from England.

- 10 The ablest of the new Councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions prove that he possessed considerable eloquence and information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit ; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and of long duration.
- 20 It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent man without adverting for a moment to the question which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was he the author of the Letters of Junius ? Our own firm belief is that he was. The evidence is, we think, such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As to the position, pursuits, and connections of Junius, the following are the most important facts which can be considered as clearly proved : first, that
- 30 he was acquainted with the technical forms of the secretary of state's office ; secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the business of the war-office ; thirdly, that he, during the year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of Lord Chatham ; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the appointment of Mr. Chamier to the place of deputy secretary-at-

war ; fifthly, that he was bound by some strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now, Francis passed some years in the secretary of state's office. He was subsequently chief clerk of the war-office. He repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770, heard speeches of Lord Chatham ; and some of these speeches were actually printed from his notes. He resigned his clerkship at the war-office from resentment at the appointment of Mr. Chamier. It was by Lord Holland that he was first introduced into the public service. Now, here are five marks, all of which ought to be found in 10 Junius. They are all five found in Francis. We do not believe that more than two of them can be found in any other person whatever. If this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

The internal evidence seems to us to point the same way. The style of Francis bears a strong resemblance to that of Junius ; nor are we disposed to admit, what is generally taken for granted, that the acknowledged compositions of Francis are very decidedly inferior to the anonymous letters. 20 The argument from inferiority, at all events, is one which may be urged with at least equal force against every claimant that has ever been mentioned, with the single exception of Burke ; and it would be a waste of time to prove that Burke was not Junius. And what conclusion, after all, can be drawn from mere inferiority ? Every writer must produce his best work ; and the interval between his best work and his second best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis than three 30 or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest, than three or four of Ben Jonson's comedies to the rest, than the Pilgrim's Progress to the other works of Bunyan, than Don Quixote to the other works of Cervantes. Nay, it is certain that the Man in the Mask, whoever he may have been, was a most unequal writer. To go no further than the letters

which bear the signature of Junius ; the letter to the king, and the letters to Horne Tooke, have little in common, except the asperity ; and asperity was an ingredient seldom wanting either in the writings or in the speeches of Francis.

Indeed one of the strongest reasons for believing that Francis was Junius is the moral resemblance between the two men. It is not difficult, from the letters which, under various signatures, are known to have been written by 10 Junius, and from his dealings with Woodfall and others, to form a tolerably correct notion of his character. He was clearly a man not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity, a man whose vices were not of a sordid kind. But he must also have been a man in the highest degree arrogant and insolent, a man prone to malevolence, and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for public virtue. "Doest thou well to be angry?" was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet. And he answered, "I do well." This was evidently the temper of Junius ; and to this cause 20 we attribute the savage cruelty which disgraces several of his letters. No man is so merciless as he who, under a strong self-delusion, confounds his antipathies with his duties. It may be added that Junius, though allied with the democratic party by common enmities, was the very opposite of a democratic politician. While attacking individuals with a ferocity which perpetually violated all the laws of literary warfare, he regarded the most defective parts of old institutions with a respect amounting to pedantry, pleaded the cause of Old Sarum with fervour, 30 and contemptuously told the capitalists of Manchester and Leeds that, if they wanted votes, they might buy land and become freeholders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. All this, we believe, might stand, with scarcely any change, for a character of Philip Francis.

It is not strange that the great anonymous writer should have been willing at that time to leave the country which

had been so powerfully stirred by his eloquence. Every thing had gone against him. That party which he clearly preferred to every other, the party of George Grenville, had been scattered by the death of its chief; and Lord Suffolk had led the greater part of it over to the ministerial benches. The ferment produced by the Middlesex election had gone down. Every faction must have been alike an object of aversion to Junius. His opinions on domestic affairs separated him from the ministry; his opinions on colonial affairs from the opposition. Under such circumstances, he had 10 thrown down his pen in misanthropical despair. His farewell letter to Woodfall bears date the nineteenth of January, 1773. In that letter, he declared that he must be an idiot to write again; that he had meant well by the cause and the public; that both were given up; that there were not ten men who would act steadily together on any question. "But it is all alike," he added, "vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity." These were the last words of Junius. In a year from that time, Philip Francis was on his 20 voyage to Bengal.

With the three new Councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The chief justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the inns of court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of Council were by no means in an obsequious mood. Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be 30 suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion for dispute. The members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow

commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side.

Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always been friends. But the arrival of the new members of Council from England naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the
10 government out of the hands of Hastings ; condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier ; recalled the English agent from Oude, and sent thither a creature of their own ; ordered the brigade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories ; and instituted a severe inquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies ; threw all the affairs of Bombay into
20 confusion ; and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta government. At the same time, they fell on the internal administration of Bengal, and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system, a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable that gentlemen fresh from England would be competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta.
30 Hastings continued to live in the Government-house, and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the council-board in the transaction of ordinary business ; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, many questions which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher

powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him.

The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man ; and they acted after their kind. Some of our readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death, no bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant, all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pandar for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour 10 of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined ; and, in twenty-four hours, it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The 20 power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councillors. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations, but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a 30 century.

It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the

favour of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councillors, he had paid the most marked court to them, and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government-house. He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, it was alleged that Mahommed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

Francis read the paper in Council. A violent altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the Council to sit in judgment on the Governor. At the next meeting of the Board, another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He requested that he might be permitted to attend the Council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General maintained that the council-room was not a proper place for such an investigation; that from persons who were heated by daily conflict with him he could not expect the fairness of judges; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, submit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a council, put Clavering in the chair, and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of the East, produced a large supplement. He stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the

care of his Highness's person to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing. Nuncomar, as every body knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out; that Hastings had corruptly received 10 between thirty and forty thousand pounds; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.

The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favour of the Governor-General. In talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy of demeanour, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against a clerk from the war-office, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and the native 20 character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him but to throw up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Maclean. But Maclean was instructed not to produce the resignation, unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse 30 to the Governor-General.

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levee, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Governor-

General. It was said that, partly by threats, and partly by wheedling, the villanous Brahmin had induced many of the wealthiest men of the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a perilous game. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resources and of such determination as Hastings. Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties, gave places, raised taxes.

10 The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council, an authority which could protect one whom the Council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing

20 himself of this stronghold; and he had acted accordingly. The Judges, especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery into action.

On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common gaol. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of every body, idiots and biographers

30 excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the Judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The Judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of

Nuncomar ; and this they did. In the mean time the assizes commenced ; a true bill was found ; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

Mr. Gleig is so strangely ignorant as to imagine that the judges had no further discretion in the case, and that the 10 power of extending mercy to Nuncomar resided with the Council. He therefore throws on Francis and Francis's party the whole blame of what followed. We should have thought that a gentleman who has published five or six bulky volumes on Indian affairs might have taken the trouble to inform himself as to the fundamental principles of the Indian Government. The Supreme Court had, under the Regulating Act, the power to respite criminals till the pleasure of the Crown should be known. The Council had, at that time, no power to interfere. 20

That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain that, whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India. It was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them, certainly not for want of delinquents. 30 It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, peculiar to our own state of society, have led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling ; nor had it ever crossed their

minds that it was to be punished as severely as gang-robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay.

The excitement among all classes was great. Francis and Francis's few English adherents described the Governor-General and the Chief Justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should be rescued. The bulk of the
10 European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight, who had been great and powerful before the British empire in India began to exist, and to whom, in the old times, governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even
20 by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion, a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practised with the greatest punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt, at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows by a secular tribunal. According to their old national laws, a Brahmin could not be
30 put to death for any crime whatever. And the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse, for a sound price, is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.

The Mussulmans alone appear to have seen with exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo, who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan. The

Mahommedan historian of those times takes delight in aggravating the charge. He assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which in itself is by no means improbable.

The day drew near; and Nuncomar prepared himself to die with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence, consistent with the law, should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved. Not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts. 10 20

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin, and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety 30

which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hoogley, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt
10 of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited ; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

Of Impey's conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has
20 published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man "to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honour, and reputation." These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar ; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose.

But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for fortune, honour,
30 liberty, all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his colleagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush his accusers. He was indeed bound to use only legitimate means for that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law, by men whose

peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is, that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he is himself concerned. Not a day passes on which an honest prosecutor does not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake, and his strongest passions excited, will, as 10 against himself, be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island: suppose that Lord Stafford, when in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had done something which might, by a questionable construction, be brought under the head of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the supposed case, for causing a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown? We think not. If a judge, indeed, 20 from favour to the Catholic lords, were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defence.

While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in a minority in Council. It was possible 30 that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There was not in the whole black population of Bengal a place-holder, a place-hunter, a government tenant, who did not think that he

might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the council board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favour of those who then held the government, fenced
10 round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. Every thing that could make the warning impressive, dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding, was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more signal. From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority, and that he who was so venturous as to join in running down the Governor-General might chance, in the phrase of the
20 Eastern poet, to find a tiger, while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations from natives of India.

It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in
30 that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.

In the mean time, intelligence of the Rohilla war, and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues, had reached London. The directors took part with the majority,

and sent out a letter filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantages. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecuniary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty, and to insist on having what could not be honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her husband, they "would not play false, and yet would wrongly 10 win."

The Regulating Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address from the Company. Lord North was desirous to procure such an address. The three members of Council who had been sent out from England were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large parliamentary connection, such as no cabinet could be inclined to disoblige. The wish of the Minister was to displace Hastings, and to put 20 Clavering at the head of the government. In the Court of Directors parties were very nearly balanced. Eleven voted against Hastings; ten for him. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The great sale-room presented a singular appearance. Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, exhorting all the supporters of government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich marshalled the friends of the administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and privy councillors, seldom seen so far eastward, were counted in the crowd. 30 The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division; but a ballot was demanded; and the result was that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority of above a hundred votes over the combined efforts of the Directors and the Cabinet. The ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord

North lost his temper, no ordinary occurrence with him, and threatened to convoke parliament before Christmas, and to bring in a bill for depriving the Company of all political power, and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

- Colonel Maclean, who through all this conflict had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now thought that his employer was in imminent danger of being turned out, branded with parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted.
- 10 The opinion of the crown lawyers had already been taken respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time to think of securing an honourable retreat. Under these circumstances, Maclean thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been intrusted. The instrument was not in very accurate form ; but the Directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr. Wheler, one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out orders that General Clavering, as senior member of Council, should
- 20 exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr. Wheler should arrive.

But, while these things were passing in England, a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson was no more. Only four members of the government were left. Clavering and Francis were on one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other ; and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who had been during two years destitute of all power and patronage, became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries. Their

30 measures were reversed : their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of taxation, was ordered ; and it was provided that the whole inquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion, plans which he lived to see realised, though

not by himself. His project was to form subsidiary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berar, and thus to make Britain the paramount power in India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the intelligence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Wheeler was coming out immediately, and that, till Wheeler arrived, the chair was to be filled by Clavering.

Had Hastings still been in a minority, he would probably have retired without a struggle; but he was now the real 10 master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant the steps taken at home. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were 20 founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General.

He afterwards affirmed that, though his agents had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. The General sent for the keys of the fort and of the treasury, took possession of the records, and held a 30 council at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment, and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms; and from such an

- appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed the officers of the garrison of Fort William and of all the neighbouring stations to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court, and to abide by its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal for obeying what the
- 10 judges should solemnly pronounce to be the lawful government. The boldest man would shrink from taking arms in defence of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Clavering and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the court. The court pronounced that the resignation was invalid, and that therefore Hastings was still Governor-General under the Regulating Act; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.
- 20 About this time arrived the news that, after a suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became Mrs. Hastings. The event was celebrated by great festivities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government-house. Clavering, as the Mahomedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused himself from joining the
- 30 splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into high good-humour, would take no denial. He went himself to the General's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease. Clavering died a few days later.

Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General, and was forced to content himself with a seat at the Council Board, generally voted with Francis. But the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some change took place at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs against Hastings were dropped ; and when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly re-appointed. The truth is, that the fearful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now 10 exposed, made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with a Governor whose talents, experience, and resolution, emity itself was compelled to acknowledge.

The crisis was indeed formidable. That great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before, with brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by the most senseless misgovernment, been brought to the verge of ruin. In America millions of Englishmen were at war with the country from 20 which their blood, their language, their religion, and their institutions were derived, and to which, but a short time before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire. The great powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigour and genius which had guided the councils of George the Second, now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America, and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by 30 France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened by the armed neutrality of the Baltic ; when even our maritime supremacy was to be in jeopardy ; when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe and the Mexican Sea ; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to protect the British Channel. Great as were the faults of Hastings, it

was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions.

An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was that the European enemies of England might form an alliance with some native power, might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition, and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly from the Mahrattas that Hastings anticipated
10 danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of India. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants of those regions, led by the great Sevajee, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas, soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the
20 empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters, sprung from low castes, and accustomed to menial employments, became mighty Rajahs. The Bonslas, at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowar, which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns in Guzerat. The houses of Scindia and Holkar waxed great in Malwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gooti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice-
30 fields of Tanjore.

That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were every where separated. The Mussulman nabobs who had become sovereign princes, the Vizier in Oude, and the Nizam at Hyderabad, still called themselves the viceroys of the house of Tamerlane. In the same manner the Mahratta states, though really independent

of each other, pretended to be members of one empire. They all acknowledged, by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee, a *roi fainéant* who chewed bang and toyed with dancing girls in a state prison at Sattara, and of his Peshwa or mayor of the palace, a great hereditary magistrate, who kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor.

Some months before war was declared in Europe the government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a 10 French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction, that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents from Louis the Sixteenth, and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed. A portion of the Mahratta nation was favourable to a pretender. The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's 20 interest, to move an army across the peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes.

The army had marched, and the negotiations with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Cairo brought the news that war had been proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required were adopted by Hastings without a moment's delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders 30 were sent to Madras that Pondicherry should instantly be occupied. Near Calcutta, works were thrown up which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment was formed for the defence of the river. Nine new battalions of sepoys were raised, and a corps of native artillery was formed out of the hardy Lascars

of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General with calm confidence pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction with the French.

The expedition which Hastings had sent westward was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding officer procrastinated. The authorities at Bombay blundered. But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors
10 of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown of the English through regions where no European flag had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and more formidable danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect.

The authorities in England had wisely sent out to Bengal, as commander of the forces and member of the council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote had, many years before, been conspicuous among the
20 founders of the British empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey, he earnestly recommended, in opposition to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. He subsequently commanded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally, gained the decisive battle of Wandewash over the French and their native allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years had elapsed. Coote
30 had no longer the bodily activity which he had shown in earlier days ; nor was the vigour of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and required much coaxing to keep him in good humour. It must, we fear, be added that the love of money had grown upon him, and that he thought more about his allowances, and less about his duties, than might have been expected from so eminent a

member of so noble a profession. Still he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great and his influence unrivalled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found, who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer, who holds one of the highest employments in India. A print of Coote hung in the room. The veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he 10 had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance to the dead.

Coote, though he did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General, was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition, and on most questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest passions of the old soldier. 20

It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which had, during some years, weakened and disgraced the government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling—and of patriotic feeling neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute—to forget private enmities, and to co-operate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been concerned in faction. Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample fortune, and, though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while his help was 30 needed in Council, was most desirous to return to England, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement which would set him at liberty. A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honours and emoluments of the service. During a few

months after this treaty there was apparent harmony at the council-board.

Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary ; for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers, the one judicial, the other political ; and, with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the indistinct-
10 ness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as might be wished. Still, it is a system which has grown up among us. In some points, it has been fashioned to suit our feelings ; in others, it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed ; and, therefore, though we may complain
20 of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which we suffer here ; it has them all in a far higher degree ; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge and by every advocate. Costly here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practi-
30 tioners must be imported from an immense distance. All English labour in India, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, down to that of a groom or a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will

work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly, the fees at Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall; and this, though the people of India are, beyond all comparison, poorer than the people of England. Yet the delay and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our 10 nature, honour, religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne process was the first step in most civil proceedings; and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit; and the feeling of a Quaker about an oath is hardly stronger than that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages, outrages which are more dreaded than death, and 20 which can be expiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our own country would be, if a jurisprudence were on a sudden introduced among us, which should be to us what our jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be, if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honourable and sacred callings and of women of the 30 most shrinking delicacy, to horsewhip a general officer, to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the Company's territory.

A reign of terror began, of terror heightened by mystery ; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters ; its sentences were pronounced in
10 unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population, informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane, and, above all, a banditti of bailiffs' followers, compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but
20 merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mahommedans, sanctuaries respected in the East, by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence ; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while
30 defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of

former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court.

Every class of the population, English and native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the government, withstood 10 the miserable catchpoles who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt. The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days.

The members of the government were, on this subject, united as one man. Hastings had courted the judges; he had found them useful instruments. But he was not dis- 20 posed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind was large; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the Supreme Court was degrading to the government and ruinous to the people; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship, if that be the proper word for such a connection, which had existed between him and Impey, was for a time completely dissolved. The government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice pro- 30 ceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the King's justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for

- resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriffs' officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient; and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was a very simple one, neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by act of parliament, a judge, independent of the government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight thousand a year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the
- 10 Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the government of Bengal; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand a year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck; Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.
- 20 Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct that comes under the notice of history. No other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine, since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner in which the Regulating Act had been framed put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful
- 30 utmost, unless he was paid to be still: and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity was to be deplored. It is also to be deplored that pirates should be able to exact ransom by threatening to make their captives walk the plank. But to ransom a captive from pirates has always been held a humane and Christian act; and it would be absurd to charge the payer of the ransom with corrupting

the virtue of the corsair. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hastings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him, he could not abdicate, which, if they did not belong to him, he ought never to have usurped, and which in neither case he could honestly sell, is one question. It is quite another question, whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large, to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender 10 millions of human beings to pillage, or rescue them by civil war.

Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressors than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort to an expedient agreeable to the Chief 20 Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

But it was not on this point alone that Francis was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with having deceived him, and with having induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dis- 30 pute, such as frequently arises even between honourable men, when they may make important agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other ; but their minds were so much embittered that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villany. "I do not," said

Hastings, in a minute recorded on the Consultations of the Government, "I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand. It was instantly accepted. They met, and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe, was not
10 mortal. Hastings inquired repeatedly after his enemy's health, and proposed to call on him; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. They could meet only at the council-board.

In a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say that,
20 if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power, had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed itself in a distant quarter.

30 About thirty years before this time, a Mahommedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue; his grandfather a wandering dervise. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at

the head of a body of troops than he approved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities, which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Louis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of governments. He was an oppressor; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age; but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mahomedan kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend. 20

Had Hastings been governor of Madras, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigorously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the south provoked their powerful neighbour's hostility, without being prepared to repel it. On a sudden, an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents, and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This 30 great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon; and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe.

Hyder was every where triumphant. The sepoys in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few

days the whole open country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees, and
10 near the gay verandas. Even the town was not thought secure, and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George.

There were the means indeed of assembling an army which might have defended the presidency, and even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force; Baillie was advancing with another. United, they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder.
20 But the English commanders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art of which the propriety is obvious even to men who had never received a military education, deferred their junction, and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war, the British empire in Southern India had been brought to the verge of ruin. Only a few fortified places
30 remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known that a great French expedition might soon be expected on the coast of Coromandel. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to protect such remote dependencies.

Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. A swift ship,

flying before the south-west monsoon, brought the evil tidings in few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient, unless the war, hitherto so grossly mis- 10 managed, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort to an extreme exercise of power, to suspend the incapable governor of Fort St. George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to oppose Hyder, and to intrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound, and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy was approved by the majority of the board. The reinforcements were 20 sent off with great expedition, and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease, was no longer the Coote of Wandewash ; but he was still a resolute and skilful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested ; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo retrieved the honour of the English arms.

In the mean time Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition, and, after the 30 departure of his vehement and implacable colleague, co-operated heartily with the Governor-General, whose influence over the British in India, always great, had, by the vigour and success of his recent measures, been considerably increased.

But, though the difficulties arising from factions within

the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means, not only of carrying on the government of Bengal, but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the Rohillas ; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means
10 exhausted.

His first design was on Benares, a city which in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriels, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps which descended from these swarming
20 haunts to the bathing-places along the Ganges were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came thither every month to die : for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of
30 the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St. James's and of the *Petit Trianon* : and in the bazaars the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere. This rich capital, and the surrounding tract, had long been under the immedi-

ate rule of a Hindoo prince who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India the lords of Benares became independent of the court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neighbour, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given ; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, and 10 engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This tribute Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had paid with strict punctuality.

Respecting the precise nature of the legal relation between the Company and the Rajah of Benares, there has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side, it has been maintained that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side it has been contended that he was an independent prince, that the only 20 claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from him than to demand subsidies from Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favour of either view.

Our own impression is that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. 30 The truth is that, during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the House of Tamerlane and the establishment of the British ascendancy, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away : the new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Every body kept his head as he best might, and

scrambled for whatever he could get. There have been similar seasons in Europe. The time of the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire is an instance. Who would think of seriously discussing the question, what extent of pecuniary aid and of obedience Hugh Capet had a constitutional right to demand from the Duke of Brittany or the Duke of Normandy? The words "constitutional right" had, in that state of society, no meaning. If Hugh Capet laid hands on all the possessions of the Duke of Normandy, this might be 10 unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the ordinances of Charles the Tenth were illegal. If, on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy made war on Hugh Capet, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the expedition of Prince Louis Bonaparte was illegal.

Very similar to this was the state of India sixty years ago. Of the existing governments not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy, or could plead any other title than recent occupation. There was scarcely a province in which the real 20 sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were still retained which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the Nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality, he was a captive. The Nabobs were in some places independent princes. In other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas again the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of Rajah; but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become 30 the hereditary chief of the state. The Peshwa, in his turn, was fast sinking into the same degraded situation to which he had reduced the Rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas to Mysore, a single government which was at once a government *de facto* and a government *de jure*, which possessed the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbours and subjects, and which had at

the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.

Hastings clearly discerned, what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In every international question that could arise, he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim 10 made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, without troubling himself in the least about consistency; and thus he scarcely ever failed to find what, to persons of short memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. Sometimes the Nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch. Sometimes the Vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent potentate. If it is expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant 20 under the seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul asks for the rents which were reserved to him by that very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant, that the English power rests on a very different foundation from a charter given by him, that he is welcome to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters of India.

It is true that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practise this legerdemain; but in the contro- 30 versies of governments, sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undeviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we must own, though it may be grossly abused, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It

is this, that where an ambiguous question arises between two governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion of the stronger must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English government was the strongest in India. The consequences are obvious. The English government might do exactly what it chose.

The English government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat
10 him as a sovereign prince; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favourite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favour of Francis and Clavering. Hastings who, less
20 we believe from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighbouring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779, an equal sum was exacted. In 1780, the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of
30 obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of twenty thousand pounds. Hastings took the money, and his enemies have maintained that he took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction, for a time, both from the Council in Bengal and from the Directors at home; nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for the concealment. Public spirit, or the fear of detection, however, determined him to withstand

the temptation. He paid over the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English government. The Rajah, after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the south of India had increased the financial 10 embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal. "I resolved"—these are the words of Hastings himself—"to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses, to make him pay largely for 20 his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency." The plan was simply this, to demand larger and larger contributions till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad 30 and Rohilcund. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance; and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed his deep

concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban, and laid it in the lap of Hastings, a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares, he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoys.

In taking these strong measures, Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is probable that, having had little opportunity of personally observing any part of the population of India, except the Bengalees, he was not fully aware of the difference between their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable to the vigour of the human frame than the Delta of the Ganges; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild; and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar under our rule, and a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoys who attended Hastings would probably have been sufficient to

overawe Moorshedabad, or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The sepoys were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his jailers during the 10 confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with even more than his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. 20 But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah from the other side of the river sent apologies and liberal offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English cantonments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large earrings of gold. When they travel, the rings are laid aside, lest the precious metal should tempt some gang of robbers, and, in place of the ring, a quill or a roll of paper is inserted in the orifice to prevent 30 it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of the English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas. Instructions for the negotiation were needed;

and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger, with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager to distinguish himself, made a premature attack on the insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets, and assailed by a furious population. He fell, with many of his men; and the survivors were forced to retire.

- 10 This event produced the effect which has never failed to follow every check, however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round, the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the revenue officers to flight. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began
20 to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major Popham, a brave and skilful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mahratta war, and in whom the Governor-General reposed
30 the greatest confidence, took the command. The tumultuary army of the Rajah was put to rout. His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours, above thirty thousand men left his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his country for ever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed rajah; but the Rajah

of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner.

By this revolution, an addition of two hundred thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum; and, such as it was, it was seized by the army, and divided as prize-money. 10

Disappointed in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been, in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste, throughout his dominions wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skilful management of the English government, gradually sinking from the rank 20 of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbours who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished; and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, 30 he said, were falling off; his servants were unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the Government of Bengal to send him troops, and had promised to pay for them. The troops had been sent. How

long the troops were to remain in Oude was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who then must decide? The stronger.

Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy, and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were embarrassed he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrass-
10 ment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowlah himself, and that, if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be squandered on worthless favourites.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowlah. But the obsequious courtesy of the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General. An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the pre-
20 cipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal; and that course
30 was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third party; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late Nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present Nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over

Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late Nabob, a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling ; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges. 10

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English ; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the government of Bengal. But times had changed ; money was wanted ; and the power which had given the guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from them. 20

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation inconsistent, not merely with plighted faith, not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with that great law of filial piety which, even in the wildest tribes of savages, even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half-civilization, retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Prin- 30 cesses. Evidence for the imputation there was scarcely any ; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished with no charge ; they were permitted to make no defence ; for the Governor-General wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able

to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping measure of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the government of Oude.

While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar, he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the
10 English statesman. But when they had separated, the Vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagement into which he had entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrank from extreme measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that, if the spoliation which had been
20 agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoil with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his Highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to compulsion. The lands were resumed; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of the
30 palace. The Princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

There were at Fyzabad two ancient men, belonging to that unhappy class which a practice, of immemorial antiquity in

the East, has excluded from the pleasures of love and from the hope of posterity. It has always been held in Asiatic courts that beings thus estranged from sympathy with their kind are those whom princes may most safely trust. Sujah Dowlah had been of this opinion. He had given his entire confidence to the two eunuchs; and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These two men were, by the orders of the British government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the Princesses. After they had 10 been two months in confinement, their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated that, if they were allowed this indulgence, there was not the smallest chance of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security but torture; and all mitigation was refused. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English 20 government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on the records of Parliament, this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier.

"Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as 30 they shall see proper."

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow, the Princesses were still under duress at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty

continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the Princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their revenue, and that no rigour could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off, and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussul-
10 mans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

There is a man to whom the conduct of Hastings, through the whole of these proceedings, appears not only excusable but laudable. There is a man who tells us that he "must really be pardoned if he ventures to characterize as something preeminently ridiculous and wicked, the sensibility which would balance against the preservation of British India a little personal suffering, which was applied only so long as the sufferers refused to deliver up a portion of that
20 wealth, the whole of which their own and their mistresses' treason had forfeited." We cannot, we must own, envy the reverend biographer, either his singular notion of what constitutes preeminent wickedness, or his equally singular perception of the preeminently ridiculous. Is this the generosity of an English soldier? Is this the charity of a Christian priest? Could neither of Mr. Gleig's professions teach him the first rudiments of morality? Or is morality a thing which may be well enough in sermons, but which has nothing to do with biography?

30 But we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not indeed easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien from all his official duties. But there was something inexpressibly alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as fast as relays of palanquin-bearers could carry

him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits against the Begums, ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. Some of them, indeed, he could not read; for they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed.* He administered the oath to the deponents, with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin, and posted back to Calcutta, to be in time for the opening of term. The 10 cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice, he had no more right to inquire into crimes committed by natives in Oude than the Lord President of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter. He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular manner, that sanction which in a regular manner he could not give, to the crimes of those who had recently hired him; 20 and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority not properly belonging to it, from the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has never, since the Revolution,

* This passage has been slightly altered. As it originally stood, Sir Elijah Impey was described as ignorant of all the native languages in which the depositions were drawn. A writer who apparently has had access to some private source of information has contradicted this statement, and has asserted that Sir Elijah knew Persian and Bengalee. Some of the depositions were certainly in Persian. Those therefore Sir Elijah might have read if he had chosen to do so. But others were in the vernacular dialects of Upper India, with which it is not alleged that he had any acquaintance. Why the Bengalee is mentioned it is not easy to guess. Bengalee at Lucknow would have been as useless as Portuguese in Switzerland.

been disgraced so foully as by him. The state of India had for some time occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Towards the close of the American war, two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In one Edmund Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Great as are the changes which, during the last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions, the reports which those committees laid
10 on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

There was as yet no connection between the Company and either of the great parties in the state. The ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes therefore, which, in consequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed by the Commons, breathed the
20 spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war; and it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people, and such dishonour on the British name. An act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bargain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms; and an address was presented to the King, praying that Impey might
30 be ordered home to answer for his misdeeds.

Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State. But the proprietors of India Stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service, and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were intrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General, and that they were not bound to obey the

directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son, Tippoo; and the Carnatic had been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. 10 Since the termination of the American war, England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place in the foremost rank of European powers; and the manner in which she had defended herself against fearful odds had inspired surrounding nations with a high opinion both of her spirit 20 and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian Islands. The only quarter 30 of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our

influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and
10 imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis the Sixteenth or of the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. It is quite true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement, and that it was at first far more defective than it now is. But whoever seriously con-
20 siderers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him seems to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London with Robinson Crusoe, who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plough and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows, his sickle and his flail, his mill and his oven.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we
30 reflect that he was not bred a statesman; that he was sent from school to a counting-house; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than him-

self, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street and Somerset House. Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the administration.

10

It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried; not Marlborough, when thwarted by the Dutch Deputies; not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency, the Spanish Juntas, and Mr. Percival. But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet; but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long-enduring; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was any thing but policy.

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The effect of this singular equanimity was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For

every difficulty he had a contrivance ready ; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation ; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he
10 should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the oratory of a public man here that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case, the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country, we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities.
20 The English politician is a little too much of a debater ; the Indian politician a little too much of an essayist.

Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in
30 truth, the Governor-General's power of making out a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished ; but it was sometimes, though not often, turgid, and, on one or two occasions, even

bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was extended, with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton and Adam Smith, to substitute 10 the geography, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece transfused through Arabian expositions, this was a scheme reserved to crown the beneficent administration of a far more virtuous ruler. Still, it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by people as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues from almost all literary society, gave, both by his example and by his 20 munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. With the Sanscrit he was not himself acquainted; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honourable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president; but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honour in favour of Sir William Jones. But the chief advantage which the students of Oriental letters derived from 30 his patronage remains to be mentioned. The Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. Their religion had been persecuted by the Mahommedans. What they knew of the spirit of the Portuguese government might warrant

them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension, the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

It is indeed impossible to deny that, in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. If he had
10 made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalese to extortion and oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalese and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren
20 stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity, such as other governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted
30 with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was indeed in many respects faulty; but the Bengalee standard of good government was

not high. Under the Nabobs, the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain. But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea; and the immense rice-harvests of the Lower Ganges were safely gathered in, under the protection of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, it is probable that the oldest man in Bengal could 10 not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory, the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired good-will. At the same time, the constant success of Hastings and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty made him an object of superstitious admiration; and the more than regal splendour which he sometimes displayed dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse 20 of more than fifty years, the natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

The gravest offences of which Hastings was guilty did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal; for those offences were committed against neighbouring states. Those offences, as our readers must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate; yet, in order that the censure may be justly apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the 30 motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing, when opposed to the immediate interest of the state. This is no justification,

according to the principles either of morality, or of what we believe to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy. Nevertheless the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will always recognise a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla war, the revolution of 10 Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude, added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that, in all pecuniary dealings, he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now 20 would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass, when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces and from neighbouring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House and of the *Palais Royal*. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of 30 state, and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs. Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the connivance of her husband, a private hoard amounting to several lacs of rupees. We are the more inclined to give credit to this story, because

Mr. Gleig, who cannot but have heard it, does not, as far as we have observed, notice or contradict it.

The influence of Mrs. Hastings over her husband was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way ; and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to send her to England. He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some 10 time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the round-house of an Indiaman for her accommodation, on the profusion of sandal-wood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin, and on the thousands of rupees which had been expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here that the letters of Hastings to his wife are exceedingly characteristic. They are tender, and full of indications of esteem and confidence ; but, at the same time, a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The 20 solemn courtesy with which he compliments "his elegant Marian" reminds us now and then of the dignified air with which Sir Charles Grandison bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlour.

After some months Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he delivered up 30 the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a lane to the quay where he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river ; and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

Of his voyage little is known, except that he amused him-

self with books and with his pen ; and that, among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure, was a pleasing imitation of Horace's *Otium Divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour, it is impossible to speak too highly ; but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

- 10 The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the sea. In June, 1785, he landed at Plymouth, posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham.

- He was greatly pleased with his reception. The King treated him with marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favour which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the "elegant Marian," was not less gracious
20 to Hastings. The Directors received him in a solemn sitting ; and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks which they had passed without one dissentient voice. "I find myself," said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England, "I find myself every where, and universally, treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country."

- The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable, because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in
30 preparation. Within a week after he landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session, however, was then so far advanced, that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed that sagacity, that judgment, that readi-

ness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East, seemed now to have forsaken him ; not that his abilities were at all impaired ; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar, who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his tools, who had deposed Cheyte Sing, and repelled Hyder Ali. But an oak, as Mr. Grattan finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, 10 that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Themistocles at Trafalgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigour causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more 20 certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand ; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake. In England he held excellent cards, if he had known how to play them ; and it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

Of all his errors the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances, had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, one of the 30 few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defence of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting, neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic acuteness nor that eloquence which charms political assemblies. Hastings intrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the Bengal army, named

- Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumoured that his services were rewarded with Oriental munificence; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his employer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position.
- 10 Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally become fastidious. He was always on his legs; he was very tedious; and he had only one topic, the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Every body who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest bore of his time. His exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the newspapers did not contain some puff upon Hastings
- 20 signed *Asiaticus* or *Bengalensis*, but known to be written by the indefatigable Scott; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the trunk-makers and the pastry-cooks. As to this gentleman's capacity for conducting a delicate question through Parliament, our readers will want no evidence beyond that which they will find in letters preserved in these volumes. We will give a single specimen of his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as "that reptile Mr. Burke."
- 30 In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favourable to Hastings. The King was on his side. The Company and its servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigour of his body, but not that of his mind; and Lord Lansdowne, who, though unconnected with any

party, retained the importance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favourable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamour which had been raised against Mr. Fox's East India Bill. The authors of that bill, when accused of invading vested rights, and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by opposing that 10 bill, had raised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering so violent a remedy; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in particular, whose great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the government inferior only to that of Mr. Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr. Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had studiously abstained from saying a word against the late 20 chief of the Indian government. To Major Scott, indeed, the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask. The resolution of censure still remained on the Journals of the House of Commons. That resolution was, indeed, unjust; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr. 30 Pitt declared that this was the only reason which prevented the government from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr. Dundas was the only important member of the administration who was deeply committed to a different view of the subject. He had moved the resolutions which created the difficulty; but even from him

little was to be apprehended. Since he presided over the committee on Eastern affairs, great changes had taken place. He was surrounded by new allies ; he had fixed his hopes on new objects ; and whatever may have been his good qualities,—and he had many,—flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

From the ministry, therefore, Hastings had every reason to expect support ; and the ministry was very powerful. The Opposition was loud and vehement against him. But
10 the Opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in parliament, and odious throughout the country. Nor, as far as we can judge, was the Opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of labour. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game. The
20 followers of the coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brooks's aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had presented, as it was rumoured, to the royal family, and a certain richly carved ivory bed which the Queen had done him the honour to accept from him, were favourite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed
30 that the great acts of the fair Marian's present husband should be immortalized by the pencil of his predecessor ; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Virgil's third eclogue, propounded the question

what that mineral could be of which the rays had power to make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs. Hastings at St. James's, the galaxy of jewels, torn from Indian Begums, which adorned her head-dress, her necklace gleaming with future votes, and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of censure, would have satisfied the great body of the Opposition. But there were two men whose indig- 10 nation was not to be so appeased, Philip Francis and Edmund Burke.

Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and talent. He laboured indeed under one most unfortunate defect, want of fluency. But he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in parliament, he incurred the bitter dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither 20 lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook his malevolence for virtue, nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions, and paraded it, on all occasions, with Pharisaical ostentation.

The zeal of Burke was still fiercer ; but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he showed on this occasion. But they 30 have altogether failed. The idle story that he had some private slight to revenge has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr. Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remembrance of the fall of the coalition, that he attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that

- he considered Hastings as the head and the representative of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke to Hastings commenced long before the coalition; and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influence of the crown, and calling for peace with the American republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from
- 10 Fox, and loaded with the favours of the crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French republic. It seems absurd to attribute to the events of 1784 an enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784 had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface? The plain truth is that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his
- 20 veins. For Burke was a man in whom compassion for suffering, and hatred of injustice and tyranny, were as strong as in Las Casas or Clarkson. And although in him, as in Las Casas and in Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common, and from whom no requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.
- 30 His knowledge of India was such as few even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country have attained, and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally

laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials. But the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts, and on tables of figures, was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct or to delight. His reason analysed and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination animated and coloured them. Out of darkness, and dulness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious 10 theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his 20 face to Mecca, the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols, the devotees swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river-side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady, all those things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's Street. 30

All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched, from the bazars, humming like bee-hives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas.

He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar as of the execution of Dr. Dodd. Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of
10 justice and good sense. His reason, powerful as it was, became the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstance, no redeeming merit. His temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of a perfidious court and a deluded
20 people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date. A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruptions of lads who were in their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calmness, or make allowance for honest differences of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious
30 in debates about India than on other occasions are ill informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty with the Court of Versailles, on the Regency, on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed it may be remarked that the very persons who called him a mischievous maniac, for condemning in

burning words the Rohilla war and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into a prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence, and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastille and the insults offered to Marie Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter, but in both cases a great and good man, led into extravagance by a tempestuous sensibility which domineered over all his faculties.

It may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of 10 Francis, or the nobler indignation of Burke, would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings, if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless; and should have been content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honours of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. They accordingly resolved to force on a decisive action, with an enemy for whom, if 20 they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786, Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the preceding year, and asked whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the Opposition, except to come forward as accusers, or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble, that it could be prudent to venture on so bold 30 a defiance. The leaders of the Opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honour return; and the whole party was irrevocably pledged to a prosecution.

Burke began his operations by applying for papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in the debate, held language such

as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion, that they intended to support Hastings. In April the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation ; and it was intimated to him that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defence at the bar of the Commons.

Here again Hastings was pursued by the same fatality
10 which had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic and so successful in the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House ; but that, if he could not trust himself to speak, and found it necessary to read, he ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence
20 are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Government-house in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place. It fell flat, as the best written defence must have fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanour of so emi-
30 nent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight to the clerks and the Sergeant-at-arms.

All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van ; for Dundas had formerly

moved, and the House had adopted, a resolution condemning, in the most severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilcund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defence of his own consistency ; but he put a bold face on the matter, and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the state as sufficient to atone even for so great an offence. Pitt did not speak, but voted with Dundas ; and Hastings 10 was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

Hastings was now confident of victory. It seemed, indeed, that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with greatest advantage assail. It had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had been condemned by Mr. Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong ground, had 20 been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought impossible. It was rumoured at the clubs and coffee-houses that one or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward, that if, on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the Opposition would let the matter drop, that Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath, sworn of the privy council, and invited to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India board. 30 Lord Thurlow, indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to the House of Lords ; and had even said, that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of peerage.

The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For, through all changes of scene and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, and which had borne so great a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.

But in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On the thirteenth of June, Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. 10 The friends of Hastings were in high spirits when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity of language, the Minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance, and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the 20 conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be that Hastings ought to be honourably acquitted; and both the friends and the opponents of the Minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying that, though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr. Pitt, applauding every 30 other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favour of Mr. Fox's motion.

The House was thunderstruck; and it well might be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended, was a trifle when compared with the horrors which had been inflicted on

Rohilcund. But if Mr. Pitt's view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there was no ground for an impeachment, or even for a vote of censure. If the offence of Hastings was really no more than this, that, having a right to impose a mulct, the amount of which mulct was not defined, but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had, not for his own advantage, but for that of the state, demanded too much, was this an offence which required a criminal proceeding of the highest solemnity, a criminal proceeding, to which, during sixty years, no public functionary had been 10 subjected? We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense and integrity might have been induced to take any course respecting Hastings, except the course which Mr. Pitt took. Such a man might have thought a great example necessary, for the preventing of injustice, and for the vindicating of the national honour, and might, on that ground, have voted for impeachment both on the Rohilla charge, and on the Benares charge. Such a man might have thought that the offences of Hastings had been atoned for by great services, and might, on that ground, have voted 20 against the impeachment, on both charges. With great diffidence, we give it as our opinion that the most correct course would, on the whole, have been to impeach on the Rohilla charge, and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr. Pitt, we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr. Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla 30 charge. He softened down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all; and then he pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

Nor must it be forgotten that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was this, that the delinquencies of the early

part of his administration had been atoned for by the excellence of the later part. Was it not most extraordinary that men who had held this language could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less than twenty articles of impeachment? They first represented the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 as so highly meritorious that, like works of supererogation in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the cancelling of former offences; and they then prosecuted him for his
10 conduct in 1780 and 1781.

The general astonishment was the greater, because, only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the minister could depend had received the usual notes from the Treasury, begging them to be in their places and to vote against Mr. Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings that, early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place, Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination to give up the late Governor-General to
20 the vengeance of the Opposition. It was impossible even for the most powerful minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr. Glenville, and Lord Mulgrave, divided against Mr. Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by the head of the government without asking questions, were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr. Fox's motion; seventy-nine against it. Dundas silently followed Pitt.

That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce,
30 often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters of government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the treasury bench, sat for some time next to Mr. Wilberforce, and very earnestly declared that he

had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand any longer by Hastings. The business, he said, was too bad. Mr. Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere, and that the suspicions to which this mysterious affair gave rise were altogether unfounded.

Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, it is to be observed, generally supported the administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas was jealousy. Hastings was personally a favourite with the king. He was 10 the idol of the East India Company and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong-minded and imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very singular communications had taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott, and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend 20 Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all ministers, Pitt was the least likely to submit with patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings, all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the mean time, the accused person would be excluded from honours and public employments, and could scarcely venture even to pay his duty at court. Such were the motives attributed by a great part of the public to the 30 young minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed to be avarice of power.

The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year, those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan, in a speech which was so

imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the Lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing; and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread 10 fast through the town. Within four and twenty hours, Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright of the speech, if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham, twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of 20 Sheridan, the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion; and the question was carried by a hundred and seventy- 30 five votes against sixty-eight.

The Opposition, flushed with victory and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and, having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length

the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords, and to impeach the late Governor-General of High Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the Sergeant-at-arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers.

The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should re-assemble.

10

When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head; and with him were associated most of the leading members of the Opposition. But when the name of Francis was read a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms, that they had been at feud during many years, that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each other's lives, and that it would be improper and indelicate 20 to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force, particularly by Mr. Windham, that impartiality, though the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice among the English, the aggrieved party, the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury-box, is the prosecutor; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias, but that he should be able, well informed, energetic, and active. 30 The ability and information of Francis were admitted; and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The House

decided that Francis should not be a manager. Pitt voted with the majority, Dundas with the minority.

In the mean time, the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly; and on the thirteenth of February, 1788, the sittings of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well
10 calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our
20 constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great
30 hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice

with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three fourths of the Upper House as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior 10 baron present led the way, George Elliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the 20 emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the Ambassadors of great Kings and Commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the 30 imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of

the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous
10 charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticized, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana
20 Duchess of Devonshire.

The Sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, and made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A
30 person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens*

æqua in arduis; such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession, the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer who, near twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville, and subsequently 10 became Vice-chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches, and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the im- 20 peachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, 30 the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed

on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguished themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was
10 wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone, culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun
20 shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost.

The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The ceremony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his
30 opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which more than satisfied the highly-raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of

the Company and of the English Presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays 10 of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling-bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and mis- 20 demeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

30

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the Court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was

that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The Chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

- 10 When the Court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case was intrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days ; but the Hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan,
- 20 when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage-effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer ; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard ; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

- 30 The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the Court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or

to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jaghires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and counter-marches of the Peers between their House and the Hall : for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their Lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a peer wittily said, that the Judges walked and the trial stood still.

It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788 when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign policy, excited the public mind. The proceeding in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the public. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the King's illness, the debates on the Regency, the expectation of a change of Ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs ; and within a fortnight after George the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery, the States-General of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events, the impeachment was for a time almost forgotten.

The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given to the impeachment. In 1789, the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. When the King recovered the circuits were beginning. The judges left town ; the Lords waited for the return of the oracles of jurisprudence ; and the con-

sequence was that during the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

In truth, it is impossible to deny that impeachment, though it is a fine ceremony, and though it may have been useful in the seventeenth century, is not a proceeding from which much good can now be expected. Whatever confidence may be placed in the decisions of the Peers on an appeal arising
10 out of ordinary litigation, it is certain that no man has the least confidence in their impartiality, when a great public functionary, charged with a great state crime, is brought to their bar. They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined ; and, even if it were possible to rely on their justice, they would still be quite unfit to try such a cause as that of Hastings. They sit only during half the year. They have to transact much legislative and much judicial business. The
20 law-lords, whose advice is required to guide the unlearned majority, are employed daily in administering justice elsewhere. It is impossible, therefore, that during a busy session, the Upper House should give more than a few days to an impeachment. To expect that their Lordships would give up partridge-shooting, in order to bring the greatest delinquent to speedy justice, or to relieve accused innocence by speedy acquittal, would be unreasonable indeed. A well-constituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week, and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings
30 to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.

The result ceased to be matter of doubt, from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would be quite sufficient to determine the

conduct of any reasonable man, in the most important transactions of private life. Those rules, at every assizes, save scores of culprits whom judges, jury, and spectators, firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were rigidly applied to offences committed many years before, at the distance of many thousand miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain an acquittal. But it is clear that an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment of 10 history.

Several attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke, for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of Nuncomar and the connection between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the House and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the Regency had annoyed even his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried ; 20 and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy triumphed over his personal feelings. He received the censure of the House with dignity and meekness, and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

In the following year the Parliament was dissolved, and the friends of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the 30 impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct motion that the impeachment should be dropped ; but they were defeated by the combined forces of the Government and the Opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the

articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave.

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced, near eight years after Hastings had been brought by the Sergeant-at-arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none; for it had been 10 fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few; and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woosack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the 20 Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The great seal was borne before Lord Loughborough who, when the trial commenced, was a fierce opponent of Mr. Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government, while Thurlow, who presided in the court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior barons. Of about a hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on 30 the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment? It had been scattered by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigour

of their genius. But their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved, with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers whom public business had brought together, and behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found 10 Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favour was still greater. On some, he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the woolsack that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable 20 feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favour. One cause of the change was, no doubt, what is commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are all inclined to depreciate whatever we have overpraised, and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigour. It was thus in the case of 30 Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though, in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to

set off his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole deserving of rewards and honours rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal, brought a cuddy full of his admirers.

10 Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony unanimously given by all persons who knew the East, was naturally very great. Retired members of the Indian services, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle, regarded as an oracle on an Indian question; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be added, that the numerous addresses to

20 the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed is true; but the eulogies of pundits, zemindars, Mahommedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a panegyric on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts

30 set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hastings; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they wor-

shipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over small-pox and murder. Nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a Pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

Hastings was, however, safe. But in every thing except 10 character, he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It 20 is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse, the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they 30 had been entrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was

accomplished ; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin ; and the grounds round it had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto ; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the Directors and of the pro-
10 prietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to reimburse him for the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a year. But the consent of the Board of Control was necessary ; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, who had himself been a party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the adherents of Hastings,
20 and who, therefore, was not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the mean time, was reduced to such distress, that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length a compromise was made. An annuity of four thousand a year was settled on Hastings ; and in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The Company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by instalments without
30 interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired governor to live in comfort, and even in luxury, if he had been a skilful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dig-

nity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet, a red riband, a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall. He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigour. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favour while Mr. Pitt remained in power ; and, when Mr. Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

10

Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics ; and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804 he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be intrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the 20 important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment ; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather 30 than by a regard to the public interest.

The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard-apple, from the

garden of what had once been his own villa, among the green hedgerows of Allipore. He tried also to naturalise in Worcestershire the delicious leeches, almost the only fruit of Bengal which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent Garden. The Mogul emperors, in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the table-land of Thibet, whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to
10 rear a breed at Daylesford; nor does he seem to have succeeded better with the cattle of Bootan, whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.

Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of
20 a Trissotin than was to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured in these Memoirs that the first thing which he did in the morning was to compose a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls; and Mr. Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. For our-
30 selves we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been,—and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison-pasty was wanting,—we should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr. Gleig

has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature, and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which are found in the strongest minds. Dionysius in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigour equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all the little vanities and affectations of provincial blue-stockings. These great examples may console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys 10 and Seward.

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter of the East India Company was renewed ; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons ; and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. 20 Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed ; public feeling had undergone a complete change ; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathise 30 with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeachment were present. They sate in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall : for, by the courtesy of the House, a member who has been thanked in his place is considered as having a right always

to occupy that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats, and pulled their hats over their brows ; but the exceptions only made the prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws ; and, in the Sheldonian Theatre, the under-graduates welcomed him with tumultuous
10 cheering.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of royal favour. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was every where received by the public with marks of respect and admiration. He was
20 presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederic William ; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honours far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and would soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage ; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or
30 degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the twenty-second of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

With all his faults,—and they were neither few nor small,

—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the Great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of 10 many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot probably, four-score years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the 20 old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronised learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles, in honour, after so much obloquy. 30

Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But while we cannot with truth describe him either

as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

NOTES.

1. 18. Goldsmith... Scott, *i.e.* instead of by their best work, the *Vicar of Wakefield* and the *Waverley Novels*.

22. Minister. Gleig (1796-1888), after serving in the Peninsular War, took orders and became Chaplain-General to the forces.

2. 1. Machiavelli (1469-1527). The lesson of his book, *Il Principe*, published 1532, is that any wickedness done by a ruler to maintain his power is justified by the wickedness of his subjects. He lived at Florence in the time of the Medici. Macaulay wrote an essay upon him.

2. Whole Duty of Man. Ascribed to Dr. Allestre (1619-81) and Dr. Fell (1625-86), a book on the practical duties of a Christian.

6. furor Biographicus, the resolve to see nothing but good in him of whom they write.

7. goitre, *i.e.* unavoidable, as the throat disease to which the dwellers in some parts of Switzerland are liable.

14. impeached... uncovered. See p. 109 fol. and 127, l. 29.

27. Mill (1773-1836). Wrote the *History of British India*. The part referring to Hastings is much coloured by party animosity. Introd. § 2.

32. Lely. Sir Peter (1617-80), the famous portrait painter. Dutch by birth, he settled in London in 1641. Charles I. and Charles II. were his patrons, besides Cromwell.

3. 2. Curl pated. The Cavaliers wore long hair. The Puritans cut theirs short, and were nicknamed 'Roundheads' and 'Crop Ears.'

12. Sea king, *i.e.* Viking. Hasting invaded England 893-7. Alfred 871-901.

19. Chamberlain. Lord Hastings (1430-83), Lord Chamberlain of Edward IV., whom he served well in the Civil War. Gloucester (Richard III.), finding he would not aid his design of seizing the crown from Edward V., had him executed on a charge of treason. See Shakspeare, *Rich. III.* iii. 4 and 5.

White Rose. The House of York. Shakspeare, 1st Pt. *Hen. VI.* ii. 4.

22. **Huntingdon.** Henry Hastings, for a short time regarded by the Protestant party as a possible heir (through his descent from the Countess of Salisbury and so from Edward III.) to Elizabeth.

23. **in our time.** 1817.

33. **Mint at Oxford.** Driven from London, Charles I. made Oxford his capital. The Cavaliers and the Oxford Colleges gave up their plate to be coined into money.

36. **Lenthall,** Speaker of the Long Parliament, was charged with receiving bribes to befriend Royalists.

4. 10. **tithes.** A tenth of the profits on land, devoted to the support of the Church.

12. **Customs, i.e.** a post in the Custom house, the office charged with collecting the revenue from taxes on merchandize.

13. **Pynaston** married Hester Warren in 1730, when aged 26, not 16. She died 1732. Within two years he is said to have married a butcher's daughter, and, taking Holy Orders, to have gone as chaplain to the West Indies.

18. **Born** at Churchill, Oxfordshire, close to Daylesford. His grandfather now became curate of Churchill.

36. **Isis.** The name of the Thames as far as Oxford.

5. 18. **Newington,** in Kent.

22. **Bourne,** Vincent (1695-1747), famous for his Latin poems.

23. **Churchill** (1721-64), satirist, wrote the *Rosciad* and helped Wilkes in the *North Briton*.

Colman (1732-4), dramatist, and friend of Garrick.

24. **Lloyd,** poet, and friend of Churchill.

Cumberland (1732-1811), dramatist and essayist.

Cowper (1731-1800), the poet. From 1767 he lived in seclusion at Olney, in Bucks, on the river Ouse. The influence of John Newton drew him into the Evangelical movement, then in progress. This and a constitutional melancholy made him adopt the Calvinistic doctrine of the innate wickedness of man (6. 8) and inclined him to periods of religious despair and even mania.

33. **cloister,** of Westminster Abbey. The arcaded square originally built as a place of exercise for the monks.

Refused. In his lines *To Warren Hastings*. See also *Expostulation*, l. 375.

6. 14. **Impey.** See p. 35. 23.

17. **hired.** An unworthy, if dramatic, fiction.

20. **Scholar.** In 1747 he was first on the list for a king's scholarship, Impey being fourth.

22. **dormitory.** That in which the Westminster Latin play is acted and the school 'Honour Boards' are hung.

25. **Studentship.** The scholars at Christ's Church are termed students.

36. **Hexameters and Pentameters,** i.e. the composition of Latin verse.

7. 1. On all Anglo-Indian and native terms in this and other pages, see Glossary A.

11. See Introd. 3.

12. **Fort William,** protecting Calcutta.

14. **Dupieix.** French Governor of Pondicherry, 1741-54. The first to attempt founding an European Empire in India. His capture of Madras in 1745 forced the English, under Clive, to try to beat him at his own game. See Introd. §3, and Macaulay's *Essay on Clive* (in this series), p. 80 fol.

17. **Carnatic.** The French and English supported rival candidates for the Nawabship of the Carnatic, 1749-54. The English candidate won.

18. **turned,** by the capture and defence of Arcot, 1751. See *Clive*, p. 18.

19. **peace.** France and England were at peace also in Europe.

23. **Sent,** October, 1753.

28. **prince,** the Nawab Ali Vardi Khán.

8. 3. **Surajah Dowla,** properly Suráj-ud-daulá, grandson and successor of Ali Vardi Khán, 1756. See *Clive*, pp. 33-36.

4. **War,** because the Company were fortifying Calcutta against his wish, and had not formally recognised him as Nawab.

8. **Dutch.** The Dutch E.I.C. traded mainly with Java, but had a few settlements in India, among which were Falda (Faltá), l. 15, and Chinsura.

11. **Black Hole,** 20th June, 1756. See *Clive*, l.c. Of 146 English prisoners therein confined only 22 were alive the next morning.

24. **Conspirators,** wishing to replace Suráj-ud-daulá by Meer Jaffier (Mir Jafar Khán). This was actually done by Clive after Plassey. See 9. 3, and *Clive*, p. 41.

28. **Fulda (Faltá).** At this time Hastings married his first wife, a Mrs. Buchanan. She died two years later.

29. **Clive,** with a fleet under Admiral Watson. *Clive*, 42. 3.

9. 1. **Plassey,** 23rd June, 1757. This war was the first waged with the natives of India apart from French intrigue, and may be regarded as laying the foundation of our Indian Empire.

6. **interval,** 1760-5.

11. **anomalous.** See *Intro.* § 4. 5, and *Olive*, p. 63.

32. **Bengalees.** See pp. 18. 4-19. 6.

10. **9. return home.** Retired Anglo-Indians, popularly known as Nabobs, were disliked as typical "*nouveaux riches*." See *Olive*, pp. 75-9, for their character.

10. **rotten boroughs.** Parliamentary boroughs with very few voters, and these so wholly in the landowners' hands that the seats could be regularly bought or sold.

16-11.6. **Abstain.** This is too faint praise. In one case at least—that of the troubles at Patna—his activity in seeking to do justice caused friction in the Council. This freedom from all personal corruption should have weight in the consideration of changes to be noticed later on.

11. 33. **Oriental learning.** Something of what Hastings desired was done by the 'Asiatic Society,' founded by Sir William Jones, 1746-94, our first great Sanskrit scholar. Oxford has now its 'Indian Institute,' besides professorships of Eastern languages. Hastings also planned an institution for training the Company's servants at home, realised in 1805 by the foundation of Haileybury College.

34. **Revival of letters.** The Renaissance of the 15th Century.

12. 2. **Hafiz** (*d.* 1388), Persia's greatest lyric poet; Firdusi, 939-1020, her epic poet, author of the *Shah Nama* or *Book of Kings*.

3. **Johnson** (1709-83). See Macaulay's Essay. He was also intimate with Chambers, one of the judges who came out with Impey, 35. 23.

27. **called himself.** He was a baron, though poor, and came out as a soldier, but found portrait painting more lucrative.

13. 10. **Albatross.** The largest of sea-birds.

14. 8. **Franconia.** Part of Saxony.

24. **At Madras.** *Intro.* § 5. By abolishing middlemen and dealing direct with the silk weavers, he relieved the latter from the usurer, and improved the Company's profits and the quality of goods.

15. 2. **Fort St. George.** The official name of Madras.

10. **System.** See *Intro.* 5, and *Olive*, pp. 72-3.

29. **Augustulus**, the last Emperor of Rome, abdicated 476, when defeated by the Goth Odoacer, who then called himself king of Italy.

Martel held all real power in the reign of Chilperic (715-20 A.D.), king of the Franks, whose mayor of the Palace, *i.e.* chief minister, he was. Pepin, his son, dethroned the last Merovingian king, Childeric III., in 752, founding the Carolingian dynasty.

16. 2. **At present, 1841.** The E.I.C. ended in 1858.

11. Pitt. 1784. Reformed the constitution of the Company, and provided a parliamentary control through a board chosen from the Privy Council, with the Secretary of State for India as its President. Glossary A.

14. representative constitution, *i.e.* such a local parliament as governs Canada, etc.

16. Casting vote, *i.e.* he could only vote when the council was evenly divided.

36. Minister, called the *Díwan*.

17. 29. Nuncomar, Nunda Kamár. See pp. 37-44.

18. 16. Ionian, *i.e.* the Asiatic Greeks who flocked to Rome under the early Empire to seek their fortunes.

"Græculus esuriens in cœlum, jusseris, ibit." (Juvenal, iii. 78).

17. Jew. The Jews, everywhere oppressed in the middle ages, resorted to the same arts to secure a living; cf. Isaac of York in *Ivanhoe*.

19. Greek song ascribed to Anacreon.

33. The Stoics, a school of Greek philosophers founded by Zeno, 342-270 B.C., who held that the truly wise man (ideal sage) was indifferent to all outward circumstances of pain or trouble.

19. 5. Mucius was captured in an attempt to murder Lars Porsenna. Condemned to the stake, he thrust his right hand into a lighted brazier (hence his surname of *Scævola*, or left-handed) till it was consumed. Porsenna in admiration of his fortitude set him free.

6. Algernon Sidney. Executed for alleged complicity in the Rye House Plot, 1683.

32. infant son, Nujm-ud-daulá.

20. 6. porphyry a beautiful building stone.

21. 5. unforgiving. This is not quite fair. Hastings showed marvellous patience and self-control in dealing with opponents. He was universally popular with natives, and charming in Society.

10. his own views. See 15. 10, and *Intro.* 6.

24. Patna. In 1760 Knox saved Patna for Mir Jafár when attacked by the Emperor Sháh Alam.

22. 3. revolution. The assessment and collection of the revenue were improved: local courts set up, with appeal to Calcutta; the native law was codified and translated; the police system purified; the private trade of the Company's Servants once more checked; commerce generally freed from restrictions.

10. allowance, see 24. 34.
14. Munny Begum, widow of Mir Jafár. See 8. 24.
34. Broken heart, more probably of worry and the effects of the Calcutta climate.
23. 5. at liberty, he lived to hold high office under the company.
19. See Introd. 7.
26. predatory families, the Cranstouns. Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. All this is somewhat unfair. Retrenchment was absolutely necessary. There had been a terrible famine in 1770. The Company was borrowing money for immediate needs and had to pay a heavy royalty on its privileges to the nation.
24. 35. allowance. He was a minor, 19. 32, and having been relieved of the expenses and the duties of government might justly be paid a smaller pension.
25. 1-34. The case is not fairly stated. See Introd. 8.
5. Corah, about 100 miles N.W. of Allahabad.
16. still governed. Oudh was finally annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856.
20. impiety, *i.e.* disrespect to the Mogul Emperor.
- Prince, Shujá-ud-daulá, Nawab Wazir.
25. elector, so called as having a vote in the election of the Emperor.
35. The section which follows, to p. 31, is full of inaccuracies and injustice to Hastings, see Introd. 9. Reference should be made to Sir J. Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohilla War*. Macaulay asserts that (a) The Rohillas were the finest population in India, 30. 30, distinguished in the arts of peace and war, 26. 35, numbering 80,000. (b) The war was caused by the ambition of the Nawab and the avarice of Hastings. (c) It was waged by the methods of barbarism without check from Hastings. (d) The Rohillas were practically exterminated, 100,000 people flying the country. The truth appears to be (a) The Rohillas were of Pathan origin, "ruthless, treacherous savages, bloodthirsty, cruel and vindictive, yet brave and manly, and with some culture." They were a band of freebooting chiefs, often at strife with each other, ruling a "rackrented Hindoo peasantry," and had only been 50 years in the country. (b) Some cruelty there may have been, but Hastings gave Champion strict orders to check it. The latter, annoyed at being forbidden to share in the plunder, charged the Nawab with outrage; but when pressed for evidence had little or none to give. (c) About 20,000 were allowed to emigrate. The rest are still in the country, especially in Rampur, still an independent State. The 100,000 fugitives were Hindoo peasants, who fled for refuge to the Terai, returning peacefully after the war.

26. 3-13. The primitive inhabitants of India, a dark flat-nosed race, were conquered by Aryan invaders from N.W. Asia, a fair race, of the same stock as ourselves. They introduced the system of caste, literature, religion, philosophy and a high civilisation. Sanskrit was the sacred and learned language of the Brahmins or priestly caste. The Persians and Afghans were also Aryans. The Moguls were Tartars and Mahommedans.

9. the passes through the mountain barrier between India and Central Asia.

12. Hyphasis ... Hystaspes, the Beás and Jhelum, rivers of the Punjab.

14. invaders, cf. *Clive*, pp. 9-14.

18. Ghizni, captured by Sir J. Keane, 1839. When Macaulay wrote this the first Afghan War had not ended in the disastrous retreat from Kabul and the massacre in the Khurd Kabul Pass, 1842.

19. Emperors, i.e. the Moguls.

24. Cabul and Candahar, in Afghanistan.

30. Kumaon, a district north of Rohilkund. The Ramganga is its principal river.

32. Aurungzebe, emperor, 1658-1707.

27. 10. Poland. Catharine, Empress of Russia, divided Poland with Austria and Prussia in 1772. Napoleon I. gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph in 1808. The comparison fails however. The Rohillas themselves were foreign invaders.

21. Eighty thousand. An exaggeration. Not 40,000 out of a total population of a million.

34. Caucasian = Aryan or Indo-European. See 26. 11.

28. 20. harm. They had intrigued with the Mahrattas. Introd. 8.

21. bad one. It must be owned that Rohilkund was badly governed on its annexation to Oudh.

24. sold us troops. This was largely done when we wanted men in the American War.

36. Major Scott. See 93. 36.

29. 6. lie in their mouths = was it for them to say?

8. caput lupinum, a wolf's head, i.e. an outlaw to be killed at sight.

22. fled. Rather let the English do most of the fighting. He was not a coward, and as his army lost somewhat heavily it must have been engaged.

17. ransom. This is untrue.

30. 1. a hundred thousand. See 26. 3 n.

9. **no conditions.** Untrue. See as above.

31. 4. **cold steel**, *i.e.* at hand-to-hand combat.

26. **North**, Prime Minister 1770-1782. With Indian affairs and the American War of Independence he had more than his share of colonial troubles. Introd. 13.

30. **control.** The three Presidencies had been wholly independent of each other. Even now Hastings was plunged into the Mahratta War through the Bombay Government trying to follow an independent policy.

32. 2. **undefined.** See Introd. 10 and p. 56 fol.

23. the **Letters of Junius** appeared in the *Public Advertiser* between 21st January, 1769, and 21st January, 1772, and were published in book form by Woodfall in the latter year. They formed a violent attack on ministers, and even on the king himself. The author's name is still a secret, and at most Francis is the least unlikely that has been suggested. If he wrote them it is remarkable that he should accept office in India from North, whom he had bitterly attacked as "an object of derision to his enemies and of melancholy pity to his friends; one who did not so much do wrong by design as never did right by mistake." Burke refused the post which Francis took up.

24. To the circumstantial proofs given by Macaulay may be added the fact that a revised edition of the letters appeared shortly after his return to England, and that on his second marriage he gave his bride a copy of *Junius* as a wedding present.

26. **handwriting.** Merivale, *Memoirs of Francis*, gives fac-similes of his and Junius' handwriting.

30. **technical forms**, *i.e.* the official method of transacting business and conducting correspondence, etc.

35. **Lord Chatham**, father of William Pitt, several times Prime Minister. In 1769-70 he strenuously opposed the policy of the Duke of Grafton and Lord North in regard to America and the Middlesex election (35. 6). Francis had acted occasionally as his secretary.

33. 2. **Francis**, 1740-1818.

Secretary of State's Office, 1756. War Office, 1762. In India, 1773-81. In Parliament, 1784. Henry Fox, Lord Holland, father of C. J. Fox, p. 104. 8.

6. **from his notes**, a mistake of Lady Francis.

7. **Chamier** was appointed Deputy Secretary in 1772, a post which Francis, as next in seniority, possibly desired.

31. **Corneille** (1606-84), the greatest French tragic dramatist, and forerunner of Molière in comedy.

33. Bunyan, 1628-88.

34. Cervantes (1547-1616), the great Spanish novelist and dramatist.

35. *Man in the Mask*, i.e. Junius, whose identity is as unknown as that mysterious prisoner of Louis XIV. of France, imprisoned in an iron mask for 24 years.

34. 1. to the king, dated 16th December, 1769, audaciously warning him that "While the crown was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another." Horne Tooke (1736-1812) had entered the lists against Junius.

10. Woodfall, Junius's printer, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, and a schoolfellow of Francis at St. Paul's.

17. dost thou well. From *Jonah*, iv. 9.

29. Old Sarum, a typical rotten borough. See 10. 10. n. While such places returned members to Parliament, Manchester and Leeds had none. Reform of Representation, often mooted in this period, had to wait until 1832.

35. 3. Grenville had led one of the many sections of the Whig Party to which Clive when in Parliament had belonged. *Clive*, pp. 82-3. Prime Minister 1763-5. Author of the 'Stamp Act.' (d. 1770.)

6. Middlesex Election. Wilkes, owing to the folly of the ministry, became a popular hero for a time, embodying the three great principles of freedom of election, freedom of the press, and freedom from illegal arrest. When returned for Middlesex in 1768 he was excluded from the House until 1774.

22. came out, in Oct. 1773.

23. Impey. See 6. 14. The other judges were Hyde, Chambers and Lemaistre.

28. disliked. He even considered the question of resignation on their arrival.

34. allowed. This was the highest number ever given in India. Hastings was himself careless of keeping state.

36. 2. renewed, i.e. in the Impeachments of Hastings and Impey.

21. Mahrattas. 53. 10. and Introd. 7-9.

28. gangs of robbers, called 'Dacoits.'

37. 29. Oates, with Bedloe and Dangerfield, was the infamous author of the Popish Plot, 1678-80. At Westminster Hall were the Law Courts.

38. 5. He now put, 11th March, 1775. These charges were false. See Introd. 3 and 11. Hastings was above corruption.

10. Mahommed Reza Khan. 19. 30., 21. 16., 22. 35.

23. **Not a proper place.** "Except before a Committee," he said, "to whose impartiality I can trust, I will give no answer of any kind to such a charge." Here he was distinctly within his rights.

35. **Goordas.** 22. 11-19.

39. **5. genuine.** It was certainly forged, as the Begum herself declared.

19. **clerk, i.e. Francis.** 33. 3.

24. **higher authority,** the Court of Directors.

40. **10. separation.** 31. 34 foll.

24. **Nuncomar... felony.** See Introd. 11. The serious charges against Hastings and Impey in connection with this trial have been dispelled by Sir James Stephen. Macaulay asserts that (a) Hastings concocted the charge against Nuncomar. (b) Impey, acting in collusion, "unjustly put a man to death to serve a political purpose." (c) Impey unfairly refused to respite him. (d) The death sentence for forgery, legal in England, was inapplicable to India.

Stephen replies that (a) There is no evidence or suspicion against Hastings. Nor could Nuncomar's death prevent inquiry and punishment by the Directors. Nuncomar was arrested on a charge of some years' standing. The prosecutor had only been able to obtain essential papers by order of the new Supreme Court. (b) No evidence connects Hastings with Impey. No suggestion of the kind was made at the trial. All four judges were present, acted unanimously, and were conspicuously fair to Nuncomar, who might have escaped but for the collapse of his own evidence. (c) In so clear a case no respite was needed. A petition was sent in but only one of the jury signed it. The Council did not interfere. A petition from Nuncomar to it was ordered, on Francis' own motion, to be burnt by the hangman as a libel on the judges. (d) The execution of a Brahmin was by no means impossible under Native Law. English Law is no respecter of persons. In 1765 a native was actually sentenced to death for forgery, but pardoned, as the evidence had been defective.

One technical point remains. Was the statute (25 George II.) under which Nuncomar was tried in force in Calcutta? The judges held that it was, a view quite defensible though reversed by subsequent decisions (1815). While Impey acted with good faith and on reasonable grounds, it might have been wiser—in a matter not absolutely certain—to have treated the offence as a misdemeanour at Common Law, involving a sentence only of fine and imprisonment.

25. **committed,** 6th May, 1775, before Lemaistre and Hyde. The procedure in such a trial is (a) A magistrate receives the

charge and commits the prisoner for trial; (b) the grand jury, satisfied that the evidence for the prosecution is sufficient, finds a true bill against him; (c) he is then tried at the assizes.

41. 3. **Impey.** All four judges were present throughout. The trial lasted from the 8th to the 16th June, 1775.

20. **no power.** True: but an expression of opinion by them must have had weight with the judges. They took no action.

23. **illegal.** See 40. 24, end of note.

42. 4. **Impey** throughout acted with the full assent of the other judges.

9. **rescued.** A statement without foundation, possibly taken by Macaulay from the *Siyyār ul Mutākhharīn* (sect. xiii), a native history of these times. 43. 1.

42. 20. **a bad man.** For a sketch of his life see a letter of Barwell's, quoted by Sir James Stephen, *Impey and Nuncomar*, vol. ii. 273. He seems not to have been of a particularly high rank among Brahmins.

26. **A catholic.** In the middle ages an ecclesiastical offender could only be tried by ecclesiastical courts. If found worthy of death he was unfrocked before being handed over to the ordinary courts for sentence and execution.

43. 1. **Historian.** Sayyid Ghulām Hasen Khān, author of the *Siyyār ul Mutākhharīn*.

4. **this story.** It is mentioned in Barwell's letter referred to on 42. 20.

10. **The Sheriff,** Macrabie, brother-in-law of Francis. On his account of the closing scene Macaulay bases this section of his essay to 44. 5. Sir J. Stephen (i. 238) prints the two accounts side by side, furnishing an interesting study of Macaulay's method of composition, *q.v.*

36. **stoicism.** 18. 33.

44. 5. **The moment.** This passage is derived from Sir Gilbert Elliot's speech on the impeachment. (Sir J. Stephen, i. 245.)

8. **Hoogley,** a river, like the Ganges, held sacred by the Hindoos.

12. **Dacca,** N.E. of Calcutta.

19. **letter.** Written about 1780 and referring almost certainly not to the Nuncomar affair, but to Impey's support during the events of 1776-7. 49. 4. to 50. 19.

45. 13. **Stafford,** in 1680. A victim of the Popish plot. 37. 29.

46. 23. **Priesthood.** Nuncomar was not a priest, nor Brahmins a priesthood, though they only can perform certain religious rites.

31. **Tour ... Jones.** Boswell wrote an account of his Tour to the Hebrides in 1773 with Johnson. Sir William Jones. See on 11. 33 *n.*

47. 9. *Macbeth*. Act i. v. 22.

17. *Clavering*. He and Francis had been intriguing against each other for the succession to Hastings. Francis again hoped to become Governor-General after Cornwallis.

22. *balanced*. May 1776.

24. *sale-room*, i.e. in which Indian goods were sold; also used for meetings.

27. *Sandwich*. 1st Lord of the Admiralty.

30. *eastward*. The business part of London is to the east; fashion congregates westward.

48. 10. *crown lawyers*, the legal advisers of the Government, such as the Lord Chancellor.

13. *Maclean*. Nov. 1776.

23. *Monson*. Died Sept. 1776. Introd. 10.

49. 1. *subsidiary alliances*, i.e. they would pay subsidies in support of the British army, so becoming our vassals, a policy greatly extended in after years. See Introd. 13.

3. *Berar*, in Central India.

4. *arrived*, June 19, 1777.

20. *invalid*. Rather that the conditions named by Hastings had not occurred. 39. 28.

50. 19. *acquiesced*. June 25, 1777.

24. *became Mr. Hastings*, Aug. 8, 1777.

36. *Clavering* died Aug. 29, 1777. *Wheler* arrived in December. The other vacant place on the council was filled by Sir *Eyre Coote*. See 54. 16.

51. 16. *eighteen years before*, 1760.

20-36. *war*. The War of Independence lasted 1775-83. France and Spain joined in against us in 1778, Holland in 1780. Russia, Sweden and Denmark combined in the armed neutrality to resist our claim to search their merchant ships for contraband of war, 1780. The Irish Protestants agitated for complete legislative independence, but not for separation, owing to the fear of the Roman Catholic majority. The break-up of the British Empire seemed possible. Introd. 13.

34. *Calpe*, Gibraltar, besieged by France and Spain, 1779-82. 111. 11.

Mexican Sea. *De Grasse* in the W. Indies outnumbered and drove off the British fleet and so caused Cornwallis to surrender to Washington at Yorktown, 1781.

52. 4. See Introd. 13.

10. *original seat*, the district S. of Bombay called *Maharashtra*. Introd. 7.

12. Aurungzebe, 1658-1707. Sevajee (Madho Rao Siváji) d. 1680.

18. robbers, raiding India from the Deccan to the Punjab, and to the Eastern seaboard. As a ransom they demanded payment of chauth, i.e. 25 per cent. of the revenue of the province attacked.

26. Scindia, at Gwalior. Holkar, at Indore.

28. Gooti, in the Madras Presidency, near Bellarey.

35. Tamerlane. Timur led the first Mogul invasion, 1398. Baber (1482-1530) and Akbar (1556-1605) founded the Empire. Its decay began on the death of Aurungzebe. l. 12.

53. 3. roi fainéant a 'do-nothing king'; a name first applied to Clovis II. and his ten successors. 15. 29.

11. French adventurer, the Chevalier St. Lubin in March, 1777.

18. Not undisputed. Already in 1774 the Bombay Government had supported the Pretender, Ragunáth Rao, called Raghuba. Peace was made in 1776. Hastings now supported him again. For the result see 65. 7.

25. marched, in 1775.

26. war, 1778. 51. 20 n.

54. 9. new commander, Goddard. brilliant actions, e.g. the capture of Ahmadabad and Gwalior. The Bombay troops, however, suffered a severe reverse at Wargaoon.

13. danger, i.e. from Mysore. 62. 30 foll.

21. Plassey, 1757. Clive's victory over Suraj-ud-daula. Clive, 45. foll.

26. Lally. During the Seven Years' War, the French made a final attempt to gain a footing in India. Lally, after Coote's victory at Wandewash, 1760, surrendered at Pondicherry, 1761. Returning to Paris he was imprisoned and executed in 1766.

55. 6. Porto Novo. 65. 26. At this point the teacher may find it convenient to continue the story of the war as given in 62. 16-65. 27, and 83. 7-12, taking the intervening sections afterwards.

19. allowances. In addition to £16,000 salary he received £18,000 a year for incidental expenses.

56. 3. Macaulay's narrative to 61. 23, is vague, inaccurate, and unjust. See Introd. 9, and Sir James Stephen, ch. xi. and xv. The dispute, for which the authors of the Regulating Act are really responsible, became acute in 1779-80. The court claimed jurisdiction over (1) the whole native population of Bengal. The Council resisted successfully by armed force. (2) Native and English collectors of Revenue. The Council submitted, though much friction ensued. (3) The judicial officers of the Company in the Provincial Courts. This difficulty was settled

by the appointment of Impey (60. 2-19) as judge of the Appeal Court in Calcutta, giving him power to control and organise these courts. It was a wise and practical solution, ending a state of chaos, to be judged of by the good faith of the parties. Impey did much good work in regulating the procedure of the courts, and codifying the law; practically the same system is working now. But the plan was disallowed from home as against the spirit of the English law. For in accepting office and salary as a Company's servant he must strictly be said to have weakened his position as an independent judge of the Supreme Court. But to speak of a bribe is absolutely unjust.

6. **independent.** 31. 24 foll. and Intro. 10.

57. 12. **Mesne process**, *i.e.* on an affidavit sworn in Calcutta a man might be arrested up country, brought to Calcutta and imprisoned until trial. The introduction of this system was unjustifiable.

14. **oaths.** A Native has no objection to oaths.

17. **woman.** 58. 24. The whole account to 59. 3 is a gross rhetorical exaggeration. There was no reign of terror. The system was bad, but such insults were quite exceptional.

33. **Wat Tyler.** A tax-collector's insult to his daughter is said to have driven Wat Tyler to become a leader of the Peasants' Revolt, 1381, under Richard II.

58. 9. **unknown.** No more unknown than that of the Company's records.

15. **spunging-houses**, in these debtors used to be confined on arrest before trial, like Rawdon Crawley in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*.

16. **many natives.** They were sent, in fact, comfortably by boat.

21. **instances.** Only one, the Cazi Sadhi.

23. **alguazils.** A Spanish word, of Arabic origin, for bailiffs. In this case they were Sepoys, specially directed to be kind to him, and not sent by the Supreme Court.

24. **Harams.** Only one rather doubtful case is known.

35. **Vansittart**, Governor of Bengal, 1760-5. See Intro. 3.

35. **Such dismay.** An absurd exaggeration. They committed fearful ravages in Bengal, 1742-50.

59. 32. **writs.** Untrue.

60. 6. **bribe.** 56. 3 *n.*

8. **Eight thousand.** The salary was £6000, subject to refunding if the Directors disapproved. Impey seems to have repaid the whole.

23. **Jefferies**, Judge Jefferies, of the Bloody Assize after Sedgmoor, imprisoned by William III.'s supporters.

61. 29. **deceived.** 55. 21-36. Hastings was to have a free hand in the Mahratta War. He arranged operations on the Jumna which Francis held were not covered by the compact.

62. 5. **had risen,** the day after.

7. **They met,** Aug., 17, 1780. Francis left for England soon after.

30. See **Introd.** 13.

63. 5. **Sovereign.** At the expense of the Hindoo rajah of Mysore, the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Macaulay somewhat overrates his power.

9. **Louis XI.**, familiar to us from Scott's *Quentin Durward*, united France in his reign, 1461-83.

20. **contend.** Mysore was finally conquered in 1809 under Lord Wellesley, and eventually restored to its Hindoo rajah.

24. **provoked.** The Madras government promised to support both Hyder Ali, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, but would not help any of the three when they fell out among themselves. c. 1770.

25. **on a sudden.** July 20, 1780. See the famous description by Burke in his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts. The final cause was the capture by the English of Mahé, a French settlement on the Mysore coast, which some of Hyder's men had helped to defend.

64. 1. **Coleroon**, a branch of the Káveri.

3. **Mount St. Thomas**, a few miles from Madras.

32. **Coromandel**, the Madras seaboard.

65. 7. **accommodated.** By the peace signed 1781 we gave up nearly all we had gained, but the Mahrattas covenanted to hold no commercial or political relations with any power but Great Britain.

22. **French armament.** 83. 9 *n.* de Suffren, one of the greatest of French admirals, nearly obtained the command of the Indian seas, 1781-3.

26. **Porto Novo**, July 1, Coote with 8000 beat 80,000. Pollilore, Aug. 1781.

28. **returned.** 62. 14.

66. 18. **mendicants.** Glossary A; dervishes.

Bulls. Sacred animals with the Hindoos, allowed to stray at will through the streets.

32. **St. James**, the royal palace in London. **Petit Trianon** at Versailles, built by Louis XV. for Mme. du Barry, became a favourite haunt of Marie Antoinette, queen of Louis XVI. **Golconda**, near Hyderabad, famous for its diamonds.

36. **had long been.** Cheyte Sing (Chait Singh) was the grandson of an adventurer, who had ousted his patron from lands held as Zemindar. He was not a prince of high birth or long descent. Introd. 12.

67. 8. **ceded**, in 1775.

13. **punctuality.** Not always.

20. **only claim.** See 70. 8. Introd. 12.

68. 3. **Carlovingian**, the successors of Charlemagne to 989.

5. **Hugh Capet**, King of France 987, but his control of his feudal subjects was slight. The Duke of Normandy, his vassal, claimed homage in turn from the Duke of Brittany.

11. **Charles X.**, King of France (1824) abdicated (1830) after a revolution, caused by his ordinances abolishing the freedom of the press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and restricting the franchise.

15. **Louis Bonaparte** (Napoleon III.) made two unsuccessful attempts to seize power at Strasbourg (1836) and Boulogne (1840) while Louis Philippe was king.

17. **not ... one.** Except the principalities of Rajputana.

34. **de facto**, e.g. Cromwell was *de facto* ruler of England, i.e. by right of possession, while Charles II. was *de jure* the rightful monarch.

70. 8. **chose to wring.** Chait Singh was bound by custom and by written agreement to give extraordinary aid in men and money at a crisis.

19. **seldom.** On the contrary. Hastings was placable and had wonderful control over his temper.

24. **In 1778.** 53. 27.

30. **bribe.** It was offered for the public service and so Hastings used it, and never thought of keeping it himself.

71. 4. **shuffled.** Already practically independent of Oudh, he probably expected that Hastings, with a serious war on hand, would not have time or means to use compulsion.

12. **to plunder.** Rather to hold him to his legal obligation, the more so as he was known to be intriguing with our enemies.

14. **cavalry.** 2000; afterwards reduced to 1000. He refused, though his bodyguard alone was more numerous. Coote suggested and the Council approved the demand.

22. **plan.** This is untrue.

32. **visit.** July, 1781, on his way to meet the Nawab of Oudh at Lucknow.

72. 7. **clear himself**, in a paper full of 'impudent falsehoods' (Thurlow).

11. **custody**, in his own house.

13. **judgment**. The order, without sufficient force to back it up, was impolitic and imprudent. Hastings may fairly be said to have brought the rising on himself.

73. 7. **defended themselves**. The officers had taken their men without any ammunition.

19. **building**. He retired to the fort of Chunar some 30 miles away.

75. 12. **dealings with Oude**. Introd. 13. There is much misstatement in this account. When Asaf-ud-daula succeeded in 1766 the Francis faction insisted on revising the Oudh treaty and increasing the subsidy to be paid. His finances became disorganised, and he fell into the Company's debt. The two Begams, his mother and grandmother, living at Fyzabad, able and masterful women, obtained through Francis the late Nawab's treasure of over £2,000,000, with a large domain, and held themselves independent of Asaf-ud-daula. Hastings protested against but had to accept the illegality. It was now clear that the Begams, besides hampering the Nawab, had assisted Chait Singh. Hastings felt justified in punishing them by resuming their ill-gotten and misused wealth.

19. **management**, really of Francis, not Hastings. To keep Oudh strong, and yet true to its engagements with the Company, was a cardinal point of his policy, as it had been of Clive's. Introd. 8.

76. 32. **rob a third party**. Really the mother had robbed the son.

77. 2. **domains**. They also kept up a strong armed force.

11. **extorted**. Untrue. He had, through the British resident, received some compensation from the Begams; and they had lent him money, which he had repaid.

27. **pretext**. There is no doubt about their complicity. 80. 30 n.

78. 11. **uneasiness**. Probably he did not wish for English interference in Oudh, but distrusted his own power to compel.

13. **implored**. They were by no means helpless women, but well able to take care of their own interests.

35. **two ancient men**. Not effeminate harem-keepers, but men of ability and influence, commanding the Begam's forces. Their confinement was strict, but the severity used has been exaggerated. They were alive, well and very wealthy in 1803, and so was one of the Begams. The Nawab was nominally independent; but Hastings cannot be acquitted of some responsibility for their ill-treatment, such as it was.

33. **under duress.** It seems, however, that they suffered little or no other indignity.

80. 30. **Impey.** Macaulay is again particularly unfair. Impey was at Benares when Hastings asked him to come and confer with him. Impey suggested the taking of affidavits in support of a narrative which Hastings was writing to the directors. The affidavits related almost entirely to Chait Singh, not to the Begams. Though Impey as Chief-Justice may have travelled a little out of his way to take them, he had no call to read or understand them, but simply to administer the oath. Little or no blame can attach to him.

81. 20. **hired.** 60. 4-19.

82. 23. **Dundas.** 1782, under the ministry of Lord Rockingham.

31. **recalled,** 1783, under the ministry of Lord Shelburne.

83. 7-11. **Hyder** died 1780. The Mahratta War ended 1781. Bussy with a French force landed in Mysore 1783, but was recalled under the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war with France in same year. Our recognition of American Independence and Rodney's great victory over de Grasse had made France ready to treat. Tippoo, thus left alone, followed suit in 1784.

23. **thirteen colonies,** the United States, then thirteen in number.

25. **legislating.** From 1782-1800 a separate Parliament sat in Dublin.

29. **Minorca.** Captured 1708; ceded to us in 1756; finally taken from us in 1781. **Florida,** S.E. of N. America. Taken 1763; retaken by the Spaniards 1781, and ceded to them 1783.

Senegal and Goree are in West Africa. Captured, 1779. and now given back.

85. 6. **Downing Street,** the Foreign Office. **Somerset House,** the Offices of the Inland Revenue.

21. **Marlborough,** in the war of the Spanish Succession, often had to alter his plans owing to Dutch interference. **Wellington,** in the Peninsular War, was badly supported on the spot and by the British Prime Minister.

86. 20. **debater,** i.e. one ready with argument suited to influence the House of Commons at the moment.

87. 10. **Adam Smith** wrote *The Wealth of Nations*, the foundation of Political Economy.

15. **ruler,** Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of Bengal, 1828-33; first Governor-General of India, 1833-35. Macaulay served under him.

26. **Asiatic Society.** To encourage Oriental studies. See 11. 33.

36. the Portuguese monopolised the Indian Trade, 1500-1600. They persecuted Paganism. By this time they retained only Goa, Daman and Diu on the West Coast.

89. 24. ballad. It really celebrates the speed of his flight from Benares.

90. 28. Carlton House, the home of the Prince of Wales, soon to be George IV. Palace Royal, the Paris mansion of the Duke of Orleans. Both famous for profuse entertainment.

29. a fortune. £80,000, besides £40,000 settled on his wife. His salary as Governor-General had been £25,000 a year from 1774-85.

35. private hoard. Probably untrue. At any rate his dying request asked the Directors to provide for his wife.

91. 7. to England. Jan. 1784.

17. Letters. Lately published by Blackwood.

21. Marian. Her maiden name was Anna Maria Apollonia Chapusettin.

23. Grandison . . . Byron. Hero and heroine of Richardson's novel.

25. prepared to follow. He left in Jan. 1785, arriving in June.

92. 3. Horace. *Odes*, ii. 16. Lord Teignmouth was Governor-General 1793-8.

26. good opinion. 94. 30 foll.

30. within a week, June, 1785. See Introd. 15.

93. 7. Grattan, the leading Irish orator of the separate Irish Parliament, 1782-1800. It was really Fox who said this of Grattan.

16. Hannibal, the great adversary of Rome in the second Carthaginian War. Themistocles, the Athenian victor over the Persians at Salamis.

27. errors. See 101. 22. Introd. 15.

30. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Chancellor in 1793. But after his death George III. is reported to have said, "He has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions."

94. 23. trunk-makers use waste paper to stiffen their boxes, pastry-cooks to bake cakes upon.

34. Mansfield, b. 1705; Lord Chief Justice, 1754-88.

36. Landsdowne. As Lord Shelburne an opponent of North and Prime Minister in 1782. The first British statesman to advocate Free Trade.

95. 5. India Bill, 1783. The loss of this measure, largely through the king's influence, turned out the Coalition Ministry

of Fox and North, who overthrew Shelburne and gave place to Pitt. *Introd.* 14.

15. *Thurlow*, Lord Chancellor, 1778-83 and 1784-92. As such he presided at Hastings' trial.

18. *Pitt*, son of Lord Chatham, Prime Minister (aged 24), 1785-1801 and 1804-6.

26. *resolution*, passed in 1782. See 81. 23. Moved by Dundas.

96. 2. *Committee*. See p. 82. 4.

20. *coalition*. 95. 5.

24. *Brooks's*. The great Whig Club in St. James's Street.

25. *diamonds*, a gift to the king from the Nizam, sent through Hastings.

97. 35. *bitter remembrance*, i.e. as due to Indian affairs. 95. 5 n.

98. 10. *alienated*. Fox supported, Burke opposed, the French Revolution. The latter's "Appeal from the New Whigs to the Old," 1791, marks the breach.

23. *Las Casas* (1474-1596), champion of the American Indians against the cruelty of the Spaniards. To Clarkson and Wilberforce was due the abolition of slavery in 1807.

99. 21. *Mecca*. The sacred city of the Mohammedans.

24. *streaks of sect*. See Glossary A, 'Caste.'

22. *swinging* by an iron hook through the muscles of the back in honour of the goddess Káli.

30. *Beaconsfield*. His country home in Bucks.

100. 2. *Gordon's riots*. The "No Popery" riots, 1780, described in Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*.

3. *Dodd*, hanged for forgery 1777.

24. *The Stamp Act* of 1765 began the troubles with America. Chatham said, "I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

32. *Commercial treaty*, concluded by Pitt, 1787, and denounced by Fox as concluded with England's "natural foe."

33. *Regency*. Burke held with Fox that the Prince of Wales had a right to the regency during the King's insanity; Pitt that it depended on the decision of Parliament.

The French Revolution began in 1789.

101. 4. *Bastille*. The political prison of the French monarchy, stormed by the mob July 14, 1789.

5. *Marie Antoinette*, Queen of France, executed 1793. The

reference is to the famous passage in Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

8. **extravagance.** "A wild beast who groans in a corner over the dead and dying"; "A spider of Hell"; "A captain-general of iniquity, thief, robber, cheat, sharper, swindler. We call him these names, and are sorry that the English language does not afford terms adequate to the enormity of his offences." Such was sometimes Burke's language.

22. **Introd.** § 15.

34. **Burke.** Feb. 1786.

102. 5. **pamphlet.** Stephen, vol. ii., chap. 9, says "it is impossible to imagine any thing worse of their kind" as being full of invective and innuendo, and vagueness as to the charges made.

16. **Bar,** a barrier marking off the space in which members sit. Below it the accused stands.

31. **story.** It took two days.

103. 18. **Dundas** (82. 23) had, under Pitt's India Bill of 1784, become head of the Board of Control, nominees of the Crown, superintending Indian policy, leaving the Company its patronage, its trade, and some control over a Governor-General nominated by Crown.

36. **patent,** a document conferring a peerage.

105. 10. **sixty years.** The last case, that of Harley, 1716, was never proceeded with.

106. 7. **Supererogation.** Romanists give this name to good works done beyond what is required of a man for his salvation or by positive duty.

19. **to give up.** To defend him might give the opposition the opportunity to charge Pitt with defending crime. So Hastings was cast overboard as a political Jonah.

29. **Wilberforce.** 98. 22 *n.*

107. 34. **following year,** Feb. 1787.

36. **Sheridan** (1751-1816), author of the *Rivals* and *School for Scandal*, as a politician followed Fox when he and Burke separated.

108. 6. **Bar.** 102. 16.

16. **Windham.** 114. 1.

109. 1. **agreed,** May 10, 1787. On the 21st followed Hastings' arrest.

110. 1. **Francis** always felt this as a defeat. "I was tried," he said, "and Hastings was acquitted." But the managers consulted him throughout constantly.

5. Commenced. The Court sat in 1788, 35 days; in '89, 17; in '90, 14; in '91, 5; in '92, 22; in '93, 22; in '94, 3; total, 118. The number of Lords sitting varied from 168 to 30. In 1788-91 the charges were stated. In 1792-3 Hastings replied. 1794, the managers replied. 1795, verdict given.

30. hall, Westminster Hall, built 1097-9. Used for the law courts from 1227 to 1884.

32. Bacon, impeached for corruption as Lord Chancellor, 1621.

Somers in 1701 for his share in the Partition Treaties.

Strafford by the Long Parliament, 1641.

Charles I., tried 1648.

111. 5. Garter King at Arms, the chief of the Herald's College, presided over by the Earl Marshal, an hereditary office of the Duke of Norfolk.

13. Gibraltar, 51. 34 *n.*

29. Siddons, the famous tragic actress.

33. Verres, the infamous propretor of Sicily, brought to justice by Cicero, B.C. 70.

34. Tacitus, the historian, with the aid of Pliny, prosecuted in 100 A.D. Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, but without much result. "*Quid enim salvis infamia nummis?*" *Juvenal*, i. 49; Pliny, *Ep.* 2. 11.

112. 1. Reynolds, Sir Joshua (1723-92), the great portrait painter, friend of Burke and Johnson.

4. Parr (1747-1825), famous as a talker and a scholar, but has left nothing to remember him by.

11. his faith. The Prince of Wales secretly married Mrs. Fitzherbert, 1787. This was illegal under the Royal Marriage Act.

12. Saint Cecilia, Mrs. Sheridan (Miss Linley), whom Reynolds painted as St. Cecilia, inventress of the organ.

16. Mrs. Montagu (1720-1800), a well-known and somewhat pretentious hostess who gathered round her all the celebrities, especially of literature. She founded a literary society called the Blue Stocking Club from the garments affected by one of its male members.

20. Duchess of Devonshire. Reynolds painted a famous portrait of her. She spared not even kisses in canvassing the electors when, in 1784, Pitt did his best to prevent Fox's return for Westminster.

113. 2. proconsul, governor of a Roman province.

10. Melville. Dundas, before mentioned, impeached in 1806 for embezzlement as Treasurer of the Navy.

31. **Demosthenes** and **Hyperides**, the great Athenian orators, were personal friends, besides agreeing in opposing the policy of Macedon.

33. **capacity**. Cf. his character in Goldsmith's poem *Retaliation* :

" Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.

Who too deep for his hearers still went on refining,
And thought of convincing, while they thought of dining."

114. 4. **Windham** (1750-1810), friend of Burke and Johnson. Secretary of War, 1794.

21. **Earl Grey** (1764-1845), Prime Minister when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed.

29. **Burke rose**. See Macaulay's essay on Madame Darblay (about the middle) for a passage describing the trial from the opposite point of view.

115. 8. **Chancellor**, Thurlow, President of the Court.

116. 21. his father had been an actor.

117. 22. **King's illness**. 100. 33.

26. **States-General**, the French representative body which began the Revolution.

118. 5. **impeachment** is a trial by the Lords with the Commons as accusers, a committee of the latter acting as managers.

20. **law lords**, judges raised to the peerage.

25. **partridge shooting**. Parliament usually rises before September 1.

120. 1. **withdrawn**. Of 20 articles only 6 were proceeded with.

18. **Woolsack**. The Lord Chancellor's seat in the House of Lords. He keeps the Great Seal of England. 1. 23.

121. 1. **at an end**. See 98. 10.

17. **retired**, 23rd April, 1794.

122. 19. **addresses**. Even from the Begams of Oudh.

123. 6. **Pantheon**, the company of all the gods.

22. **Logan**, a Scotch minister and poet.

Simpkin, the *nom-de-plume* of a Captain Broom. Published 1789-90.

John Williams, a notorious libeller.

Pasquin was a Roman tradesman in the 16th century famous for his bitter wit. Hence lampoons were called Pasquinades.

124. 16. **Control**. 103. 18 *n*.

125. 2. **Coronet**, an earldom. Red ribbon, worn by Knights of the Bath. **Board**, the Privy Council. In **Whitehall** are the Government offices.

9. **Retired**, owing to a disagreement with the king as to relief of the Irish Catholics.

14. **Addington**, Prime Minister 1801-4, preceded and followed by Pitt.

17. **Boulogne**. Napoleon's army waited at Boulogne, June 1803 to September 1805. Villeneuve's failure to win command of the Channel diverted him from the invasion of England to an attack on Austria.

126. 2. **Allipore**, a suburb of Calcutta. The duel with Francis was fought there.

20. **Trissotin**, in Molière's comedy of *Les Femmes Savantes*, a literary fop.

35. **madrigal**, a love or pastoral lyric of 6 to 13 lines. **Sonnet**, a poem of 14 lines, formed on certain rules and of Italian origin.

127. 5. **Dionysius**, tyrant of Syracuse, 367-343 B.C.; **Frederic the Great**, King of Prussia, 1740-86. Both were patrons of literature.

blue stockings. 112. 14 n.

10. **Hayley** (1745-1820), a very minor poet, but biographer of Cowper.

Seward, William (1747-1809), F.R.S., author of *Anecdotes of Some Distinguished Persons*.

128. 8. **Sheldonian**. Here honorary degrees are conferred.

15. **visited England**, after Waterloo.

129. 23. **Richelieu** (1585-1642), built up the power of the French Crown under Louis XIII.

Cosmo de Medici (1389-1464) practically ruled Florence under republican forms, and made it the centre of the revival of learning.

GLOSSARY.

The first number gives the page, the second the line of the page, on which the word will be found.

A.—ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

- (1) **The East India Company** (1600-1858) had its headquarters at the **India House** in **Leadenhall Street** (20. 23). It was managed by the **Governor and Board of Directors** (47. 21), elected annually by the holders of **East India Stock** (47. 27). The **Court of Proprietors** (47. 23), consisting of all holders of £500 stock, could be summoned at a crisis as a Court of final reference. Lord North's **Regulating Act, 1773** (31. 26) subordinated the other two Presidencies to the Governor-General of Bengal, himself controlled by a **Council** and **Supreme Court**, named by the Crown. Pitt's **East India Bill, 1784**, added a **Board of Control** under a Secretary of State, named by the Crown, to control the Directors at home (16. 10). The Company's servants were known as **Writers** (7. 1) Senior and Junior Merchants. A Factor was the head of a **Factory** (7. 36) or place of trade (not a manufactory). **Agents** were appointed in distant towns. Their pay being small they also traded on their own account. This system was gradually altered in this period as tending to grave abuses. To these, after Clive's **Diwāni**, were added **Judges and Collectors** of revenue (122. 26). A **Resident** (9. 2) was a British Minister at a Native Court. A **Settlement** was a town at which the English lived protected by a **Fort** (7. 12), garrisoned mainly by **Sepoy** (native) troops (18. 24). **Cantonment** (73. 26), the lines inhabited by a garrison. The **Factories** were grouped into three **Presidencies** (16. 33), **Calcutta**, **Madras**, and **Bombay**, each under a **Governor** (8. 9), and **Council** (9. 5) of four members.

- (2) The **Emperor** (Padishah) (26. 19), or the **Mogul** (7. 29), had ruled over the Mogul Empire from Delhi (15. 23), but was now an exile at Allahabad (25. 5). **Viceroy** (Subahdar) and **Nabob** (15. 27), (Nawab) had been his lieutenants, ruling provinces, but were now independent. The **Nizam** ruled at Hyderabad; the **Nawab Wazir** in Oudh.
- (3) **Money**. **Rupee**, 2s. ; **lac** (23. 29), 100,000 rupees, £10,000; **crore** (117. 5), 100 lacs, £1,000,000; **pagoda** (12. 30), 3½ rupees; **gold mohur**, 10 rupees, £1 (20. 7).
- (4) **Religion**. The **Hindoo** religion (19. 28) is pantheistic. One Supreme Being is believed in, who has many distinct aspects and manifestations, benignant and malignant (122. 29) which can be multiplied at the worshipper's will. Idols are worshipped as symbols of these. The Hindoos are divided into **Castes**, marking social and religious precedence. Each man wears the mark of his caste (99. 24) painted on his forehead. The highest caste is that of the **Brahmins** (42. 22) or priests, who, however, may follow other professions. **Sanscrit** (26. 11) is the language of their sacred books. A **Pundit** (87. 31) is one skilled in Sanscrit lore.

The **Mussulman** (19. 22) is the follower of Mahomet, the **Koran** is his bible, **Mecca** (99. 20) his sacred city. His religion is pure Monotheism. The churches are called **Mosques** (99. 20) in which the **Imaum** (leader) recites the prayers. A **Dervish**, or fakir, is a member of a religious order, often a mendicant (66. 18).

- (5) **General**. **Aumil** (117. 5) a native agent. **Bang** (53. 3) an intoxicating drug made from hemp. **Bazar** (99. 34) a street of native shops. **Begum** (76. 35) a princess. **Cuddy** (122. 9) the saloon of an **Indiaman** (91. 12) or Company's ship trading to India. **Haram** (7. 31) the zenana or women's apartments. **Jaghire** (jaghir) (117. 5) an estate given in reward of service done. **Lascar** (53. 36) a native sailor. **Maharajah**, see **Rajah**. **Minaret** (66. 15) a tall slender tower. **Monsoon** (65. 1) a periodical wind in the Indian Ocean, blowing from S.W. April to October, and from N.E. October to April. **Nuzzur** (117. 5) a present to a superior. **Palanquin** (43. 31) a covered litter borne by porters. **Purwannah** (117. 5) a licence. **Rajah**, sometimes a reigning Prince (Benares, 67. 9) sometimes a mere title of honour (Nuncomar, 17. 29). **Sandalwood** (91. 13) a fragrant wood used for carving. **Sunnud** (117. 5) a deed conferring office. **Tank** (99. 17) a masonry reservoir. **Zemindar** (90. 25) a landholder paying rent direct to the Government.

B.—GENERAL.

Archaic words are marked with an asterisk.

- acrimonious** (85. 18), bitter.
actuate (97. 34), to influence.
affidavit (81. 1), a written declaration on oath.
alluvial (89. 2), formed by the silt of a river.
altercation (38. 13), quarrel.
ambiguous (70. 1), of doubtful meaning.
analogy (18. 11), similarity.
anomalous (9. 11), not arranged on any principle.
antipathy (34. 22), dislike.
apprehend (52. 4), to fear.
apotheosis (122. 33), deification.
arraign (115. 4), to attack.
asperity (34. 3), roughness of expression.
assiduous, (55. 18), constant.
attestation (39. 9), a solemn declaration that a document or fact is true.
avocation (74. 33), occupation.
barrator (58. 12), one who maliciously incites to actions at law.
bickerings (117. 7), quarrels.
brocade (20. 6), a costly stuff.
broker (8. 2), an agent who buys or sells goods for another.
buccaneer (11. 2), a pirate.
cadet (15. 34), a subaltern newly appointed.
caparisoned (89. 24), harnessed.
capricious (54. 32), changeable.
caste (9. 18), class. See Glossary A.
catchpole (59. 11), a bailiff.
chequered (5. 12), variegated, like a chessboard.
chicane (58. 13) } trickery.
chicanery (18. 22) }
circumstantial (18. 21), worked out in detail to look like truth; (33. 14) (of evidence), indirect.
coadjutor (35. 30), an assistant.
coalition (96. 20), a combination between two or more men.
complaisant (14. 13), anxious to oblige.
conjuncture (20. 33), crisis.
connections (47. 18), political supporters, relations.
convulsive (9. 27), violent.
construction (41. 24), explanation.
contumaciously (104. 16), with obstinate rebellion.
copyright (108. 11), the sole right of publishing.
corsair (61. 1), a pirate.
countenance (37. 26), to show approval of; *subst.* (2. 21).
cupidity (19. 35), desire of gain.
declaim (101. 3), to make violent speeches in public.
delegate (16. 36), to entrust.
delinquency (105. 36), offence.
delinquent (41. 30), offender.
demeanour (39. 16), behaviour.
deponent (81. 6), one who makes a statement on oath.
depository (85. 3), one who is entrusted with something.
deposition (46. 1), a statement on oath.
digest (99. 8), to arrange.
diplomatic (16. 30), connected with the official intercourse of one nation with another.
discretion (41. 10), power to act otherwise.
dissolution (25. 14), break up.
dispenser (86. 14), one who gives out.

dominant (9. 31), ruling.
 dotage (87. 12), silly talk.
 *duresse (79. 33), imprison-
 ment.

emaciated (112. 30), thin.
 emolument (40. 36), salary.
 emulation, (111. 21), rivalry.
 encroach (7. 14), to encroach
 upon, to seize another's prop-
 erty or rights.

enlarged (9. 35), liberal, fair to
 all.

equanimity (85. 33), the pos-
 session of an even temper.

ethics (24. 4), rules of morality.

evacuate (83. 10), to quit.

executive (16. 3), connected
 with carrying out the law.

exorbitant (55. 19), excessive.

extenuate (95. 12), to make
 little of.

extortioner (58. 22), one who
 by force obtains illegal pay-
 ments; *vb.* extort (77. 11).

exuberance (114. 31), an abun-
 dance.

fastness (74. 31), a castle.

fatality (102. 9), unalterable
 bad fortune.

felicity (104. 12), propriety (of
 language).

ferment (35. 6), commotion.

fief (26. 27), lands held by a
 vassal of a feudal superior.

flagitious (104. 35), wicked.

flexible (26. 11), expressive.

forensic (93. 34), trained in the
 law courts.

freebooter (52. 20), robber.

fundamental (23. 27), essential.

galaxy (97. 5), a brilliant
 cluster (literally of stars, like
 the milky way).

galleon (11. 2), a Spanish trea-
 sure ship.

impair (93. 3), to make weaker.
 impiety (25. 21), a failure in a
 natural duty.

impost (74. 18), a tax.

imputation (77. 31), a sugges-
 tion of guilt.

inauguration (110. 31), admis-
 sion to office.

indigenous (88. 15), native.

indomitable (5. 7), unconquer-
 able.

ingredient (34. 3), that which
 goes to make up a part of
 something else.

inordinate (90. 6), uncontrolled.

insipid (2. 30), wanting in taste.

install (22. 21), to place in office.

instrument (15. 33), an official
 document.

integrity (12. 18), right deal-
 ing, especially as regards
 money.

intestine (36. 21), internal.

intimate (102. 6), to give notice;
subst. -ation (21. 34).

inveterate (23. 2), of long
 standing.

jeopardy (51. 33), danger.

jurisdiction (81. 12), the right
 to exercise official power.

jurisprudence (57. 24), a sys-
 tem of law.

labyrinth (66. 14), a network
 or maze of streets.

lading (7. 21), bill of, a list of
 goods sent in a ship.

legerdemain (69. 30), a con-
 juring trick.

liberal (5. 16), a liberal educa-
 tion, *i.e.* the best possible in
 literature, philosophy and
 art.

liege lord (71. 34), the feudal
 master of a vassal.

litigation (118. 10), proceed-
 ings at law.

lucre (30. 5), gain (especially unfair) in money; *adj.*
lucrative (17. 14), profitable.

magnanimity (2. 35), disdain of petty things.

malevolence (34. 15), ill-will.

medium (19. 15), an agent or go-between.

mendacity (37. 16), lying.

mendicant (66. 18), beggar.

memorial (55. 8), a petition.

minion (3. 2), a favourite.

minute (62. 1), an official record.

misanthropical (35. 11), hating mankind.

mitigation (79. 19), abatement; *adj.* mitigating (100. 13).

mulet (105. 5), a fine.

munificence (11. 36), liberality.

null (49. 21), not binding.

obeisance (55. 13), a salute.

obloquy (5. 13), reproach.

obsequious (35. 28), ready to obey others.

organisation (18. 4), frame.

oriel (66. 16), projecting windows.

orifice (73. 30), a hole.

ostentation (112. 8), showing off.

ostensibly (7. 28), nominally.

pandar (37. 9), minister to another's pleasures or foibles.

panegyric (1. 8), praise.

patronage (37. 1), power of bestowing offices.

pertinacity (18. 29), resolution in carrying out a purpose.

petifoggers (59. 5), rascally agents of the law.

phraseology (16. 28), language.

placable (18. 28), easily appeased.

place (40. 9), an office under

government; -holder, -hunter (45. 35).

plausible (49. 33), seeming correct.

politic (102. 12), discreet.

polity (129. 22), a system of government.

portray (3. 9), to draw a likeness.

post (92. 12), to travel by chaise and horses.

precedent (67. 26), an example in the past of something done now.

predatory (23. 26), living by robbery.

prescription (69. 2), a right depending on old custom.

progenitors (4. 32), ancestors.

propitiate (71. 27), to make one's friend.

punctilious (35. 31), apt to stand upon ceremony: scrupulous (90. 12).

pursuance: in pursuance of (1. 1), to carry out.

quality (53. 11), noble birth.

rancour (23. 3), bitter hatred.

rankness (80. 34), power to disgust.

records (49. 30), official papers.

reflection (47. 1), blame.

re-imburse (124. 14), to repay a loss.

remission (121. 27), decrease of violence.

remit (24. 24), to send (money); *subst.* remittance (28. 4), money sent.

repair to (39. 35), to visit.

requisition (24. 27), a demand.

resentful (86. 28), apt to take offence.

resort to (69. 12), to use.

rhetoric (27. 4), the art of public speaking.

- roundhouse** (91. 12), stern cabin.
secular (42. 28), lay, opposed to ecclesiastical.
security (11. 14), freedom from the danger of losing money invested.
sedentary (18. 6), taken sitting down.
seminary (5. 20), school; lit. seed plot.
sensibility (80. 16), readiness to pity.
social (6. 4), between man and his fellow-men.
sophistry (69. 31), showy but incorrect argument.
squeamish (10. 35), scrupulous.
stigmatize (28. 14), to call by a bad name.
stipend (17. 5), salary.
substantiate (19. 11), to prove.
supplement (38. 34), a further supply.
suppleness (18. 12), power to suit oneself to circumstances.
supply (70. 14), money voted to government.
sycophant (37. 9), a flatterer.
tissue (18. 21), (of lies), falsehoods cleverly woven together.
turgid (86. 36), (of style), inflated, grandiose.
undigested (1. 8), ill-arranged.
usury (11. 13), interest on money lent.
vernacular (88. 28), belonging to the common people.
versatile (82. 6), able to take up any pursuit.
vested (rights) (95. 6), of long legal standing.
vicissitudes (4. 16), changes.
virulence (100. 34), venom, bitterness.
vortex (121. 7), a whirlpool caused by motion through water.

QUESTIONS.

ON PAGES 1-26.

1. What were the career and prospects open to the Company's servants in 1765? (See also p. 90).
2. What system of government did Clive establish for Bengal, and what changes did Hastings introduce?
3. Describe the events which led to the 'Black Hole,' and the victory of Plassey.
4. What were the chief Native States in Hastings' time, and their relation to each other and to the English?
5. What events are connected with (1) the Carnatic, Faldá, Moorshedabad, Allahabad; (2) Vansittart, Schitab Roy, Mahommed Reza Khan?
6. Explain the terms: writer, collector, Presidency, Nawab, Brahmin.

ON PAGES 26-52.

7. Criticize Macaulay's account of the Rohilla War.
8. By what means did Hastings improve the Company's finances?
9. Were the trial and execution of Nuncomar justifiable?
10. State Macaulay's various charges against Impey. Are they justified? (See also pp. 60 and 81.)
11. What changes in the government of India were made by the Acts of Lord North and of Pitt? What evils were they intended to amend? How is the country governed now?
12. Give some account of Francis.
13. Who were the Munny Begum, Sujah Dowlah, Colonel Champion, Colonel Maclean?
14. State the circumstances of Hastings' resignation and reinstatement.

ON PAGES 51-81.

15. Describe the condition of the British Empire in 1775-83.
16. What do you know about Sir Eyre Coote?

17. Describe an imaginary walk through an Indian city. (See also p. 97 foll.)
18. Give a short account of the case of Cheyte Sing.
19. Who were Sivajee, Aurungzebe, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, Major Popham, the Mogul?
20. Describe briefly the quarrel between the Court and Council.
21. What part of Hastings' conduct is least defensible?

ON PAGES 81-101.

22. Of what use has been the study of eastern literature? How was it encouraged in this period?
23. Describe Hastings' reception in England. Who were his chief supporters?
24. What was the attitude of Pitt and Fox in regard to Indian affairs?

PAGES 101-END.

25. What is an impeachment? Is it a satisfactory form of trial?
26. In your own words describe the opening of the trial.
27. To what extent did misgovernment exist in India, and how far was Hastings responsible?
28. Give a summary of the proceedings at Hastings' trial.

GENERAL.

29. Where and why is government by chartered Company still used? What objections are there to it?
30. When and why was the Company dissolved?
31. Describe the origin and decay of the Mogul Empire.
32. How was the French power in India overthrown?
33. Which would you rather be, a great writer or a great orator?
34. On what grounds can you justify our conquest of India? What are the chief difficulties in its present and future government?
35. "India is a poor country." Explain.
36. What are the differences between a Hindoo and a Mohammedan?
37. What do you consider Macaulay's chief merits and defects as (1) a master of style, (2) a historian?

38. Define the following words (not given in the Glossary) as used by Macaulay :—adulation (2. 21), aversion (35. 8), competent (12. 1), candour (62. 4), complex (84. 21), concise (102. 18), deportment (32. 17), extinct (30. 29), fanaticism (27. 33), illicit (47. 5).

39. Construct sentences illustrating the correct use of the words: instigate, menial, partisan, petulant, procrastinate, profuse, strenuous, veracity, vindictive.

PASSAGES SUGGESTED FOR REPETITION.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1. | 4. 20— | 5. 14. | The child ... to die. |
| 2. | 43. 7— | 44. 13. | The day ... dismay. |
| 3. | 66. 11— | 35. | His first ... Cashmere. |
| 4. | 98. 38—100. | 5. | His knowledge ... London. |
| 5. | 110. 29—113. | 2. | The place ... judges. |
| 6. | 113. 12—114. | 23. | But neither ... foremost. |
| 7. | 115. 16— | 30. | At length ... of all. |
| 8. | 128. 36 to end. | | With all ... by either. |

HELPS TO FURTHER STUDY.

The most useful and cheapest books are marked by an asterisk.

1. Hastings' Life.

*Trotter, "Warren Hastings" (Rulers of India. 2s. 6d.).
 *Lyll, "Warren Hastings" (Men of Action. 2s. 6d.). The second takes a less favourable view. Forrest, "Letters, Despatches, and Other State Papers Preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-85," giving the original records. Chesney, "Indian Polity."
 Mill, "History of British India," and Orme, "Military Transactions of the British Nation in India," with Gleig's "Life" of Hastings, were Macaulay's chief authorities.

2. For Nuncomar's Trial.

*Sir J. Stephen, "Nuncomar and Impey" is indispensable. Beveridge, "Trial of Nanda Kumar," takes a less favourable view.

3. For Impey.

Stephen, as above, and E. B. Impey's "Life of Sir E. Impey."

4. For Francis.

Merivale, "Memoirs of Sir P. Francis."

5. **For the Rohilla War.**

*Sir J. Strachey, "Hastings and the Rohilla War": indispensable.

6. **For the Impeachment.**

*Lyall's "Warren Hastings" gives a good short account. For detail: Debrett's "History of the Trial of Warren Hastings"; Burke's "Speeches"; Stephen, as above.

7. **For the General History.**

Besides Mill, *Hunter, "A Brief History of the Indian Peoples." *Lyall, "Rise of the British Dominion in India." Keene, "Fall of the Mogul Empire." Grant Duff, "History of the Mahrattas." Hunter, "Imperial Gazetteer of India." "Clive" in the Rulers of India Series.

8. **For the public and social life of Indian officials at this period,** see Kaye, "Lives of Indian Officers," under "Lord Cornwallis," pp. 66-93. Well worth reading.

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